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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

PREPARATION FOR FATHERHOOD

by

Ⓒ JANET EARLE SMITH

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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W H O Schmidt
Supervisor

Peggy Anne Field

Allen Vander Well

Date December 16, 1982

DEDICATION

To each of the six new fathers who gave of themselves so that this study could be a reality.

To my father, Marshall Hersberger, to Robin, the father of my daughter, to Jennifer, my daughter, and to Bob and Ruth. Your continuing love and support are central to all that I do.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore the thoughts and feelings men experience when their wives are pregnant for the first time, during early to mid-pregnancy. A relatively unstructured interview method was used to collect data, with the study based on Grounded Theory. Six men were interviewed.

While each man interviewed had his own unique experience in anticipating becoming a father, all experienced profound feelings about the magnitude of this event. The confirmation of the pregnancy was the latest point after which each man began the process of building his identity as a father. Four themes emerged from the data which showed how a growing identity was formed. These were the man's identification with his own father, with his work, with his wife as a mother, and with his expected baby. It then became evident that three factors were influencing him as he formed his identity within these themes. The factors influenced him throughout the process, one beginning in his childhood with his own experiences of being parented. The factors were his relationship with his own parents, activities he undertook to prepare himself for fatherhood, and the progress in months through the pregnancy. The process in building an identity as a father became evident in his focus at any particular point in the pregnancy, such that there were discrete phases in the process which were similar for the six men in the study. First, each established a financial base into which he could bring a child. Second, both members of the couple identified and discussed their beliefs about childrearing and explored the world of children through observing other children and their families. Each became concerned about the normality of his expected child. Third, the prospective father began to identify his relationship with his expected baby, focussing on what he would like to do or would feel hesitant to do with his baby. Fourth, he began to identify his expected baby as a real person in his life. He became anxious to be realistically prepared for this baby. Throughout the process, the men maintained a dual feeling of gradually increasing confidence in their ability to parent and cope with childbirth and of feeling very vulnerable to the risks for their wives, their expected infants, and themselves; as the risks were very high and they could not predict the outcomes.

It was concluded that the utilization of Grounded Theory made an important contribution to the findings in this study. The interviews proved a rich source of data. The process of analysis resulted in identification of relationships among the data at several levels. Thus the interviews and the process of analysis enabled discovery of the meanings for this group of men in the experience of becoming a father.

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Chapter I

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Introduction

In bearing a child, men and women become suddenly, completely, and irrevocably parents. This requires these individuals to identify themselves as fathers and mothers of their infant. A great deal is known about what this means for women as they become mothers. In the psychological and health field literature, the father has been largely ignored, with a gradual increase in interest over the past fifteen years. Only very recently has the interest become widespread. As a result, the literature on fathering is relatively recent. There is very little known about how a man reacts and then prepares himself to be a father, once he knows that, for the first time, his wife is pregnant. There are assumptions made by some writers (Antle, 1975; Parke, 1978), that fathering is qualitatively different from mothering, but equally crucial to the development of the child. It is not yet evident what a man entering fatherhood perceives to be the changes facing him, nor what he expects to be doing for his child. On the contrary it is often assumed that during the early months of the pregnancy a man does not really think about becoming a father yet (Phillips and Anzalone, 1978). Any sign he shows of being nervous is treated with amusement. If he feels ambivalent he is criticized for not being supportive of his wife at this time when she needs him. There are no formal sources of support for prospective fathers as there are for expectant mothers. Yet the pregnancy of a man's wife is a time when the basic fundamentals of life are an immediate reality. He and his wife have created a new life and a new member of their families. Prior to the birth of the baby, there are life threatening risks for his wife, as an expectant mother, and for the baby, his child. The results of these risks are unknowns until after the birth of the baby. The consequences of having a child, normal or abnormal, mean profound changes in the man's life. He will no longer be a young adult, responsible only for himself and sharing his life with an equally competent female companion. He and his wife will together be responsible for raising this child, and caring for it throughout their lives. This may be a more permanent change than any he has ever experienced.

It is the writer's belief that as soon as the first pregnancy of his wife is announced, a man begins thinking about the meaning of this for his life, and that during the first four months of the pregnancy, the birth of the baby would still be far enough away that he would think in quite a wholistic manner about becoming a father.

Purpose Of The Study

In order to understand how three people, father, mother, and baby, begin their lives together as a family it is necessary to know what each member brings to the experience and how each member develops within the experience. Much has been explored and written about mothers and their babies. This study addresses how men prepare themselves to be fathers. The study will describe elements of change a man anticipates and those he experiences during the first pregnancy of his wife from early to mid-pregnancy. It will identify activities he undertakes to begin to build an identity for himself as a father. It is understood that this identity of "father" is a dynamic process and continues to change throughout his life as a father.

Need For The Study

How a man developed his identity as a father has been largely ignored by psychologists, nurses, and physicians. Since the mother is viewed as the primary parent with the mother-infant bond as the prime relationship in the beginning family, how or whether a man identifies with the experience of becoming a parent has been considered somewhat irrelevant. This leads to the family beginning their experience together believing that it is normal for the father to be less than an integral part of the developing relationships. In the experience of the researcher, fathers, when denied access to knowledge during their wives' pregnancy and to their infant during the hospital stay after birth, felt alienated by the health professions. Some openly yearned for contact with their baby, while others, feeling nervous, or believing it was their wife's territory, withdrew. One new father on being denied access to his first infant while she was still in the hospital watched her for long periods of time through the nursery window. By the third day of this, he could no longer tolerate the separation. He waited until he was certain that there were no nurses, physicians, or other hospital staff in sight, then ran into the nursery, touched his baby, and ran out again, elated! The wives/mothers in these situations began their experience with their infants feeling equally nervous, but as the husbands were denied involvement, could not share problems with them. As the wife became more confident and the husband remained lacking in confidence due to lack of involvement, both became more certain that he was not capable with, and perhaps not as interested in, infants. He tended to attempt contact with his infant less often. Bronfenbrenner asserts that alienation is most likely to occur "when there is no support or recognition from the outside world for one's role as a parent" (1977, 492). Surely this lack of recognition of the father by authorities on parenting and on the transition to parenting creates an ideal situation for the beginnings of alienation within the family.

Nurses and physicians who provide prenatal health services, have tended to minimize access of the father to information and support. Within the past ten years, health services have begun to include fathers in prenatal information sessions, and in the labour and delivery room during the birth of their child. However, the programs and individual practices are based on biological and psychosocial adaptation of the women to mothering. Hence programs emphasize the role of the father at these times as supportive of his wife as she delivers the baby and becomes a mother. There is a beginning understanding that the father may bond with the baby, so he is allowed some access to the baby.

An understanding of the process of preparation for fatherhood should facilitate recognition of the significance of this life transition for men and their families. The information gathered and interpreted in the present study will, it is hoped, be useful to planning prenatal programs that address the father directly. This should enable greater empathy on the part of professionals working with expectant fathers and could provide fathers with information that many of their feelings, thoughts and activities are normal. It is hoped that as a result of insights gained from this study, the family, as a unit of three people will be better able to establish patterns of interaction which facilitate the development of all three members.

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to explore the experience of each of six men during the first four months of his wife's first pregnancy. As there is little known about men's first impressions of the reality that they will become a father in a finite period of time, a methodology is needed which does not assume particular responses. In the absence of formal theory on the transition to fathering, the research method used must enable discovery of the nature of the phenomenon. The methodology of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) was chosen. More will be said about this in chapter three, which deals with methodology. At this point, it is sufficient to indicate that it was chosen because its primary purpose is not to test already existing theory but to facilitate the discovery of the real experience of the individuals in a particular life situation. A study of men during the early months of their wives' first pregnancy, using grounded theory will provide some insights into this experience for men. This will be a valuable beginning from which further research can be developed.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The cultural and professional bias towards the significance of parenting for women, while underestimating and even devaluing parenting for men, was found throughout the psychological literature (Nash, 1965). This bias began with Freud's view of the mother as the prime influence for a child in the first two years of life (1923, 1940). Other classic studies of the beginning of life for children followed this lead, and studied only the mother with her infant. In identifying her as the prime caretaker of the infant, it was assumed that her relationship with her infant is the only significant relationship for the child during the first two years, and all subsequent relationships grow from this model (Bowlby, 1951, 1958, 1972; Spitz, 1965; Winnicott, 1965; Ainsworth et al, 1970, 1974). Many others have since followed this example (Rubin, 1961, 1967; Kohlberg, 1966; Brazelton, 1973; Busfield, 1974; Als, 1977; and Rhone, 1980). While White acknowledges the importance of the father to the child in the first three years of life, he discusses parenting and mothering synonymously, observing only the mother with the child (1975, 1978). In studies of child development, examples of typical parenting behaviors are often behaviors of mothers but assumed to be representative of both parents (Baumrind, 1971; Hetherington and Martin, 1972; Dewing and Taft, 1974). This has been true for studies and descriptions of experiences during pregnancy and of attachment between parents and newborns. Primarily mother-infant behavior is described, and only literature on maternal-infant attachment is referred to, yet the program or research project is intended to apply to both parents (Dean et al, 1982). Studies which focus on pregnancy obtain information from the woman about both herself and her husband (Rubin, 1967; and Colman and Colman, 1971).

It is evident that the basic assumption about the lack of importance of the father, especially in the first two years of life has led to a methodological bias in parent-infant research such that the activities and influence of the father with his infant were not addressed when generating research or when planning and evaluating programs for parents and children. Fathering literature which has been developed has not been incorporated into the parenting literature, especially for beginning families. The role of the father is discussed briefly and separately, whereas mother-infant issues are addressed in depth and constitute the majority of the literature. Nursing and Medical specialty groups trained to give health care to beginning families address primarily, the care of the mother and child. Their titles and the title of their professional journals reflect this direction, as demonstrated by the journals MCN: The American Journal of Maternal Child Nursing and the medical Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology.

This belief about the father has engendered a view commonly held by clinicians of medicine, nursing and psychology that there are biologically and psychologically innate tendencies for childbearing in women but neither of these in men. Thus while men are undergoing this enormous life transition, it is taken for granted that their central interest at this stage is to be supportive of their wives in this major life transition for their wives. This leads to a mother-infant model of beginning family life. For the husband/father in the family, this model negates his humanity, his sense of family, his love for his child, and the enormity of the life changes he is undergoing.

When a child enters a home, resulting in a three member family, mother, father and infant, all three members influence and are influenced by all other members (see Appendix 1, Figure A). With the mother-infant model, relationships in a family's beginning year are formed with the father as a bystander, and mother-infant as primary. This then becomes the basis for family dynamics; communication from the father may be blocked from the primary dyad, while communication between the mother and newborn baby is encouraged (see Appendix 1, Figure B). When the father is isolated to an assumed bystander role, he is lonely, and tries to understand and respond to his new reality. He may insist upon being an active member of the family. He may strengthen his relationships outside the family with colleagues at work and with friends in a similar situation. In this way, he further separates himself from his wife and child. He may become angry and depressed, and manifest pathological behaviors which may disrupt the functioning of himself, his wife and his child (see Appendix 1, Figure C).

This pattern is changing with an increase in research about fathers, and with fathers themselves demanding recognition. Fathers have begun more and more to react against their isolation. Participation of fathers in childbirth was initiated originally by fathers insisting on their involvement. Colman and Colman described one father's solution this way:

> He knew when they were about to wheel his wife into the delivery room. At just that moment, he slapped a pair of handcuffs on her wrist and on his own. There was nothing for the doctors and nurses to do but to get him a stool to sit on and a hospital gown to wear (1971, p. 97).

Most hospitals now routinely involve fathers in the birth of their babies. Their value is still often considered as the support person for their wives. Fathers are included in some prenatal educational programs, but nurses and physicians often do not know what the father's special concerns are, so simply include him in the regular program established for the mothers. This has value for both the husband and wife in that both find out important information about the mother and developing baby. However, it also reaffirms to both husband and wife that little of significance is happening within the husband/prospective father. It is not surprising that attendance at prenatal class does not influence fathers' bonding with their infants (Miller and Bowen, 1982; Fein, 1974, 1976).

There is an evergrowing body of literature attesting to the significance of the father in child development. In some studies of parental influence on child development, information was obtained directly from both mother and father (Fagot, 1974; Lamb and Lamb, 1976; Osofsky and O'Connell, 1972; Rubin, J., et al, 1974) or from the child about both father and mother (Lynn and DePalma Cross, 1974). Those who study the father often focus on his effects on his child's development (Kotelchuk, 1972; Lamb, 1976a, Radin, 1982; Adams and Horovitz, 1980; Bloom-Feshach et al, 1980; Cohen and Campos, 1974; and Jones, 1981). This has consistently shown complex and basic benefits for the child who has two parents, father and mother. Block et al, (1973) found that the best adjusted adults were those who, throughout their childhood, had warm relationships with effective mothers and fathers who described their marriage as happy. Studies of infants with their fathers consistently find that when the father is available, infants "attach" with father as well as mother (Greenberg and Morris, 1974; Ban and Lewis, 1971; Fein, 1976; and Parke, 1978).

Few studies address the meaning of fatherhood for the man. Lynn (1974), Lamb (1976b) and Hamilton (1977) have each compiled numerous perspectives about the influence of the father on his child's development. Through this a sense of the scope of fathering is evident. It is also evident that there is little study of how a man begins to develop his own personal identity as a father. If this is a major life transition, and if patterns of family interaction are influenced by the birth of a child to a family, then the meaning of that event for a man is of great significance for him and for his family. The meaning of fathering may begin in childhood, in experiences with his own parents, and especially his father. On becoming a father, old conflicts are remembered and must be resolved for optimal acceptance of himself as a father (Biller, 1974; Benedick, 1970).

Experiences During His Wife's First Pregnancy

With the confirmation of the first pregnancy of a man's wife, the reality exists for the first time that he will be a father. The serious work of identifying himself as a father may then begin. Obzrut (1976) found that men often feel ambivalent about fathering early in pregnancy. Through a structured interview with each of 20 men during the last trimester of their wives' pregnancy she found that the most important aspects of fathering cited by the men studied were nurturing (33% of the men), teaching (31%), and providing (11%). Thirteen of these men expected to have childrearing responsibilities different from their wives. In the men's comments, she found evidence of the five operations experienced by mothers in attaining the maternal role during pregnancy which have been identified by Rubin (1967). The men reported concerns via the questionnaire about their adequacy as a father, their adequacy in infant care skills, and their financial security. Trethowan and Conlon, through a questionnaire to 327 men whose wives were pregnant found that when compared with men whose wives were not pregnancy, these men had a higher rate of physical symptoms such as loss of appetite, toothache, and nausea and vomiting (1965). It was concluded that one in nine of the men whose wives were pregnant demonstrated the couvade syndrome, which has been documented in primitive cultures as physical symptoms in the husband, sympathetic to the pregnancy symptoms experienced by his wife (Munroe and Munroe, 1971). Marquart (1976) interviewed fifteen men whose wives were in the last trimester of their pregnancy and found that this experience had been stressful to them. Nine were ambivalent about the pregnancy until they felt the baby moving in their wife's body. Most found that pregnancy became a common topic in their conversations and wondered if they bored others. They were interested in associating with other expectant couples. They expected the addition of a child would bring their marriage closer together and more interdependent in nature, and other activities would continue, with modifications for the baby. They expected to change their own behavior to be a better model for their child. There is no indication of the structure of the interviews or whether this is the first or subsequent pregnancy.

There are no studies to date which obtain data from men during the first trimester of their wife's first pregnancy. The retrospective method of obtaining data about early pregnancy may skew the impressions of the experiences as they occurred. A. D. Colman and L. L. Colman, fascinated with their own reactions with the beginning of L. Colman's first pregnancy (which they referred to as our pregnancy), began to see their pregnant clients in psychotherapy in a different light. They established a weekly discussion group for women beginning their first pregnancies. The experience of pregnancy emerged as a unique psychological state. These discussions continued after the birth of the babies, including the Colman's first baby, but the subject matter changed from responsiveness to their dreams and fantasies to practical childrearing topics. After a while, the Colmans lost interest and the group ceased. For them as well as for the members of the discussion group, the topics that had gripped them with urgency during the pregnancy seemed irrelevant later. With their third pregnancy, they realized that each time they experienced pregnancy, the intense anxieties and challenges of creating a new life dominated their thoughts and feelings again. By this third time they committed themselves to writing the book, Pregnancy: The Psychological Experience (1971). The book stems from the original discussion group, their own three experiences with pregnancy, and an extensive review of the literature of the time. What is most interesting about fathering in this book, is that throughout the book, they emphatically defend pregnancy as an experience shared between the expectant parents; yet address maternal issues much more clearly than paternal issues. There is a chapter each, for the expectant mother's experience and for the expectant father's experience. The chapter about the expectant father draws from anthropological studies of primitive cultures, from animal studies, and from their own beliefs. In the absence of the husbands in a discussion group, material about fathers' experiences, while written with heartfelt empathy for fathers, was distanced from actual experience. All who have studied men during late pregnancy of their wives or soon after the birth of their child emphasize the significance of becoming a father for the men studied (Obzrut, 1976; Marquart, 1975; Lamb, 1976a & b; Greenberg and Morris, 1974; Parke, 1978; Fein, 1976; and Ban and Lewis, 1971). There is a real need to explore this experience with men while they are progressing through the pregnancy of their wives, to understand more directly, the nature of the importance of this time for men.

Experiences During Childbirth

Studies of men during the birth of their child have identified the impact on the man and his wife of his involvement with childbirth. Initially the emphasis was on the support a man would give to his wife, with little mention of his interest in his infant. The value of his support for his wife is real. Klein (1981) found that for women in labour, their husbands used supportive measures significantly more than did nurses for women whose husbands were not present. Following birth, the mothers with husbands present rated their husband's supportive measures significantly higher in helpfulness than did the women with nurses as supportive persons.

That a man is interested in his newborn infant has been a surprise to many. Miller and Bowen found fathers to be very interested in their newborn infants in the first two days after birth (1982). Greenberg and Morris (1974) studied fathers within the first 72 hours after the birth of their child. They proposed a bonding process they have called "Engrossment" between the father and his infant. It is characterized by a father's enjoyment in looking at his own newborn, desire for and pleasure in touching and holding his own newborn, awareness of distinct characteristics of his newborn, and a perception that his newborn is perfect. The father feels a strong attachment, focussing his attention on his newborn, and feeling a sense of elation and increased self-esteem. Half the men studied had been present at their infant's birth and half had not. Both groups were equally "engrossed" by the third day. The major difference between the two groups were that the fathers who were present at birth repeatedly and spontaneously commented, "when you see your child born, you know it's yours", and felt more comfortable in distinguishing their babies from other babies. Greenberg and Morris hypothesize that engrossment is a basic potential among all fathers and that there is a critical time during which engrossment best occurs. This is supported by Brazelton (1973), who observed that fathers who were absent from their infant's life for the first few months, had difficulty showing affection to that child. Parke (1978), in observing mothers and fathers, each alone with their newborn and then mother, father, and infant together, found few differences between mothers and fathers in their behavior toward their newborns. Both were enthusiastic and smiled, touched, and spoke softly to their newborns. Fathers held the infants more, mothers fed more. When all three were together, the mother and father explored characteristics of the baby more than either did when alone with the baby. Parke found that the fathers were competent, sensitive, and able to read their baby's cues. Early hospital contact enhanced nonverbal communication between fathers and their infants at one month of age (Jones, 1981) and verbal interaction by three months of age (Rebelsky and Hanks, 1971). When engrossment does not occur it may be due to cultural patterns which result in insufficient contact between the father and his infant. It maybe that the father's belief that expression of feeling is unmanly causes him to repress his natural responses (Fasteau, 1974). The growing evidence of fathers' attachment to their newborn babies indicates that contact between a man and his newborn is an essential step to his beginning to father his child and to identify himself as a father.

Experiences During The First Few Months Following Birth Of The Infant

When both husband and wife bond with their infant they are truly sharing together the infant as an extension of themselves. It is important that the measurement of the quality of this bonding by both parents not be done solely by the numbers of infant care activities done by each parent per day at home. Fein (1976) and Parke (1978) found that the degree of father involvement during the hospital stay of mother and newborn does not predict the level of his subsequent involvement with his infant at home. An important part of the father's contribution during this time is to maintain a stable environment, especially economically.

He is therefore away for long periods of time at work. The constant awareness and the twenty-four hour per day nature of a young infant's needs leads to lowered levels of rest and scarcity of free time for both parents (La Rossa and La Rossa, 1981). This can lead to conflict of interest regarding which parent cares for the baby while the other parent is attending to personal needs. There was no indication by La Rossa and La Rossa of the relationship between the degree of conflict of interest for the parents. It would seem probable that the more effective the initial bonding, the more smoothly would be the resolution of adjustment to living with an infant. With optimal bonding by both parents, a crying baby at 2:00 a.m., who is also very wet, is more likely to be seen as someone needing assistance than as a source of argument between the infant's mother and father about who should get up.

It is important that each family identify the division of labour which best suits their belief system about their own marriage and family life. This integrates everyone's development over the short and long-term. It also allows for many different forms of fathering and mothering, from the housewife and career husband, to house-husband and career-wife. Either of these, or combinations emphasizing career and home for both, can be satisfying arrangements for husband/fathers and wife/mothers (Fein, 1976). There are five factors in Fein's (1976) findings that contributed to couples' adjustment to beginning parenthood:

1. Preparation for parenthood. Few women and fewer men felt prepared for parenthood. Most men reported little or no experience with infant care, or even of observing other men holding infants. Those who had observed or done infant care felt more confident.

2. Health of the baby. All babies were healthy, but when two became colicky, the parents felt helpless. One couple felt rage, guilt, depression, and exhaustion.

3. Support from families. Family support was important to the couples, and was expressed in a variety of ways including visits, encouragement, presents for the baby and respect for the new parent's needs to be left alone with the baby.

4. Support from work. When the man had some degree of flexibility in his work schedule both he and his wife seemed to adjust more smoothly to life with the baby. The support from work was always individual, that is, understanding by employers or fellow employees, and not institutionalized as in written-in flexibility in scheduled, or paternity leaves.

5. Agreement about roles. The major finding by Fein was the importance of developing clear role definitions which met the needs of husband, wife, and baby. The couples who had most difficulty during the first weeks at home had strong disagreements about involvement with the baby.

When observing fathers with older infants and young children, attachment was expressed mainly through play (Lamb and Lamb, 1976; Ban and Lewis, 1971; Parke, 1978; Spelke et al, 1973; and Kotelchuk, 1972), while mother was more involved in caretaking. All identified a strong attachment between fathers and their infants. Since parent-newborn interaction is similar for both parents, perhaps the quantitative difference observed later is a result of cultural factors which impinge upon both husband and wife. There is evidence that fathers who are more involved with their newborns adjust more readily to living with an infant (Fein, 1976; and Antle, 1975). Reiber (1976) found that fathers tend to be as involved in infant care as their wives allow. As fathers begin to demand more involvement with their infants, from pregnancy onward, perhaps a different picture will emerge about the nature of father-infant relationships.

Methodology In Research Of Fathers During Pregnancy Of Their Wives

There is a great variety of methods used to study fathers. Colman and Colman used inferences made from the statements of wives, and anthropological and animal studies (1971). Quantitative methods using a questionnaire (Wapner, 1979), or structured interviews (Obzrut, 1976) to gather data have been used, while recently, a qualitative method was used by May (1982). The studies to investigate the experiences of men whose wives are pregnant have all used small samples, with less than thirty individuals studied intensively. There are only five such studies since 1970, all indicating that becoming a father is a major event in the lives of the men involved. Each study identifies some similar and some different aspects of this experience for fathers.

All but Colman and Colman (1971) identified financial responsibilities constituting a major concern for almost all men studied. All studies indicated that most of the men believed that having a baby would bring their marriages closer together. Wapner's use of a questionnaire provides information on many areas of adaptation to fatherhood (1979). It does not allow identification of the meaning behind a particular finding. For example, the majority of the men studied felt they should do more to protect their wives, and few were involved with talking with their wives' physicians. There is no indication of the experience or feelings which led to the men wanting to protect their wives or not talking with the wives' physicians. The structured interviews used by Obzrut (1976) and Marquart (1976) asked about specific activities each man undertook during the pregnancy. The questions were asked retrospectively of the men during the pregnancy. The answers given by the men were limited to the questions asked. The experiences and feelings behind the activites were not always identified. For example, nine of the expectant fathers in Obzrut's study stated that they talked to other fathers. No further information about these discussions was included in the report of the research. Who were the other fathers, did the expectant fathers seek them out, why did the other eleven men not talk with other fathers? May (1982) carried out intensive interviews of men at several points during pregnancy of their wives. When asked about factors which contributed to or detracted from their emotional readiness for fatherhood, the men interviewed discussed in depth many ways in which they felt ready and/or unready for fatherhood. Several factors were identified which May had not predicted prior to the research project, such as needing a sense of closure to the childless period of their lives. Much information about the meaning of this for the men involved was evident in the findings. Closure must be obtained, either prior to or during the pregnancy to enable a man to feel ready to accept becoming a father.

The conclusions of these studies indicate that the methodologies have provided some valuable insights into some of the experiences and feelings of expectant fathers. They have also pointed to the need for an approach which begins in the first trimester of the pregnancy, such that information about experiences, thoughts, and feelings at this time are not answered retrospectively. Retrospective methods do not make clear when a particular feeling or experience occurred or how it developed and was resolved. There is little indication of the meaning behind many of the activities, thoughts, and feelings experienced by the men involved. An approach which enables an open-ended interview and/or observation, not forming prescribed categories within which the individual must reply is necessary to maximize the possibility for discoveries about this experience for men (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973). A longitudinal approach, observing and/or talking to men at various points throughout the first pregnancy of their wives would enable observation of this experience from a process perspective. When theory is just being developed, categories for sorting data should not be developed until the area to be studied is clearly identified (Bateson, 1972, 61-62; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Theory on the transition to fatherhood is just beginning to be developed. In this situation the natural units of meaning can best be ascertained when the individual to be studied is encouraged to describe the experience for himself (Giorgi, 1975). Barton and Lazarsfeld emphasize the importance of this as the first step in the qualitative research process (1969). Beginning with completely unordered data and developing a classification system is necessary before analysis can begin. More refined categories usually emerge out of the process of analyzing relationships between initial categories. The beginning classification includes discrete types or themes, which represent the basic elements necessary for understanding the situation. These are recombined more logically during the process of analysis as all possible combinations are explored (163-179). In the beginning explorations of a phenomenon it is helpful to break it up into as many categories as is possible, avoiding generalization. Relationships between and among categories can more accurately be identified, with generalizations becoming evident, at higher levels of abstraction (Landecker, 1951, 332). Glaser states that this type of methodology can be applied to any kind of qualitative information "...including observation, interviews, documents, articles, books..." (1969, 219).

Summary

Since the early part of this century, a cultural and professional bias has existed which devalues men as fathers. Within the past fifteen years, this bias has been seriously challenged by those who are studying fathers and by many fathers themselves. Those who study fathers find them to be important to their children and find that becoming a father is of major significance to a man's life. Most studies of fathers observe their impact on their children, with very few studies of the transition to fatherhood. Most programs for expectant parents are geared to the mother, including the father in the already existing program.

Of the five studies of men during pregnancy of their wives, all but one (May, 1982) are done during the last trimester of the pregnancies. All but one used a structured interview or questionnaire technique for data collection. Considering the beginning state of research of fathering, there is insufficient well developed theory on which to base this structure. With the exception of May's findings, the results provide information but without the meanings behind significant statements by the fathers. An approach which enables the expectant father to express that which is important to him is required, as illustrated by May (1982).

This study illustrates the methodology of Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), with an open ended interview for data gathering. The men were interviewed during the first five and one half months of their wives' first pregnancies. The intent was to interview them as close to the first trimester as possible. It is hoped that this will provide a beginning understanding of the early experience for men in adapting to the reality that they will soon be a father. The conclusions of the study will provide a basis for a longitudinal investigation, using a larger sample and testing out categories identified in this project. It is hoped that this will add to the body of knowledge about the meaning for a man in becoming a father, including how he prepares for this experience.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

This study is an exploratory investigation of men's thoughts and feelings upon learning that they are going to become fathers for the first time. As the knowledge of this experience for men is relatively undeveloped as yet, a qualitative research method was chosen to facilitate discovery in exploring this experience. The Glaser and Strauss method of Grounded Theory was used (1967).

Grounded Theory research begins with observation of a situation or phenomenon, with as little structure as is possible. The purpose of this is to facilitate the discovery of the real experience of the indivudals in the situation. As data are gathered, categories begin to be evident in the data, first as unrelated entities. Integration between categories, and higher level categories are then identified from the initial categories. Thus, the researcher is "...more faithful to his data, rather than forcing it to fit a theory" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, 34). The resulting theory is grounded in the data, as it has emerged from consistent categories that were identified in the data. The theory is valid for those individuals studied and can be further developed and changed with investigation of more subjects and more experiences related to the phenomenon. Formal theory develops at a later stage, when categories and properties of categories are sufficiently developed to enable generality and explanatory power (24), and testing of hypotheses.

For this study, data were collected during the two interviews, an introductory interview and the main interview. Six men were interviewed.

Obtaining Volunteers

Men whose wives had recently had their first pregnancy confirmed were requested. An Edmonton obstetrician was approached with a request to contact the husbands of his patients whose first pregnancy had recently been confirmed. The obstetrician requested the following method for obtaining volunteers. He would briefly describe the project to his patients, choosing ones whose husbands he felt would be suitable. The researcher had established criteria which had been communicated to the obstetrician (see Appendix 2). Each patient would receive a letter to give to her husband describing the project, and her husband's involvement in it, (see Appendix 3). Her husband was to notify the obstetrician if he was interested in participating. The obstetrician would then notify the researcher who would telephone the individual. The obstetrician also required that to maintain his confidentiality with the families, the interviews were not to be tape recorded. This method was used, and in six weeks time, one man volunteered and was interviewed. This interview was valuable as a pilot interview to verify some general themes to be used as a guideline during later interviews if needed. Since this interview was not recorded, the interview notes were not sufficiently precise to be assured of accurate interpretation. The obstetrician was approached to reconsider the requirement of no tape recording. He granted permission for subsequent interviews to be tape recorded. One other individual was received from the office of this obstetrician four months later.

A second obstetrician was contacted after it became evident that there may not be sufficient subjects generated from the first source. After six weeks of weekly contacts with the second obstetrician's office, he stated that his practice may be too specialized for him to have access to women early in their pregnancy who are experiencing a normal pregnancy. He recommended a family physician whose practice regularly included women with normal pregnancies. Within a week one subject was obtained from the family physician's office. In this instance, the method for the prospective subjects to learn about and volunteer for the project was as follows: the physician or the nurse practitioner would telephone the husband of a patient notifying him that the researcher would be telephoning him within two weeks; the physician also sent home with the patient the letter explaining the project and the husband's involvement in it.

The remaining four subjects were obtained from a prenatal class for couples where the wife was in the third month of her pregnancy. The researcher attended a prenatal class. During the portion of the class where the men were normally sent to another room, the researcher was invited to introduce the project to them and request volunteers. All men volunteered, whose wives were pregnant for the first time, fifteen in all.

This method, using a prenatal class, was not originally chosen as it was felt that the sample would represent a higher educational and socio-economic level of subjects than the norm. In fact the two men contacted through the physician's office represented the upper end of the educational and income levels of the group interviewed. The group as a whole had a variety of educational attainment and yearly income levels (see Appendix 7). Therefore the concern was unfounded in this instance. It was also evident that the face to face contact for the initial information-giving about the project and for the initial contact between researcher and prospective volunteer was very helpful in obtaining an affirmative response from the men. Several of the men at the prenatal class asked questions about the project, their part in it, and/or its subsequent use. They seemed satisfied with the researcher's answers. This seemed to be an important part of the process in deciding to volunteer.

The researcher later contacted each volunteer by telephone to confirm his intent and to make an appointment for the first interview. From the list of fifteen volunteers, four were utilized. Only a total of six subjects were required for this study. Two had been obtained through physician's offices thus only four from this group were required. Of those contacted by the researcher, two were attending university and requested that the researcher call back after examination week, in two weeks time. Three had businesses which peaked at that time of year and requested that the researcher call back in about one month's time. One confirmed his intent but following the first interview missed his appointment for the second interview. When contacted again he declined further involvement, saying that he was not interested. One individual suggested that the interviews be held in his office at midnight. He was not accepted for the study by the researcher. One volunteer had misinterpreted the introduction, he was expecting his second child so was not eligible for this study. One volunteer was out of town until near the five month deadline for involvement. As an interview could not be arranged before the end of his wife's fifth month of her pregnancy, this volunteer was not accepted for the study. The remaining two volunteers could not be contacted within a four week period, by which time four subjects had been confirmed and interviews begun, thus no further subjects were sought from the group then available.

Requesting husbands of obstetricians' patients proved to be a time consuming process with little return. The two husbands who did volunteer from these sources had a particularly high motivation. This was evident in that these two indiviudals felt that it would be helpful for them to talk to someone about their experience as they did not originally want to become fathers. For these men the interviews were of as much assistance to them as they were to the research project. Thus the two sources (the physicians and the prenatal classes) provided subjects with a variety of views on entering the experience of expectant fatherhood.

Collection Of Data

Data gathering took place during two interviews: an introductory, structured interview and the main interview, which gave minimal structure in advance.

A third interview was available on an optional basis. The purpose of this interview was to provide an opportunity for both husband and wife to meet with the researcher during which time the man's wife would be able to ask questions about the research and both husband and wife could receive information about pregnancy and beginning parenthood from the researcher. The intent included an opportunity for the man's wife to meet the researcher. It happened that the researcher met each of the wives at the first contact with each subject. Some asked particular questions at that time about pregnancy and/or infant care. Only one of the subjects requested the third interview. There seemed to be no further need for the remainder of the couples.

The Introductory Interview. There were four purposes for the first interview: to establish a familiar envirionment for the second interview and establish rapport between the subject and the researcher; to ensure that the subject had sufficient knowledge about the research project including his involvement in it; to obtain his written consent to participate; and to obtain demographic data.

The first interview was held in the same room in which the second interview was to take place to establish a familiar environment for the second interview. This interview began with the researcher briefly describing the research project and the man's involvement in it, and encouraging questions and discussion about the project. Several men asked how confidentiality would be maintained and whether they would be able to read the thesis when it was completed. Others asked how the study would be used. All questions were answered as completely as possible, using the following information. The interviews would be transcribed by a secretary. They would be read by the researcher and her thesis committee consisting of an advisor and two other committee members, all three were professors at The University of Alberta. No other individuals would have access to the interviews. The tapes and transcriptions would be kept in a locked cabinet. The interviews would be held in privacy in a room decided upon by the researcher and subject. The access to the completed thesis was described. The thesis would be kept in the Herbert J. Coutts Library in the Education Building at The University of Alberta. As such it would be available to anyone to read while in the library. To borrow it from the library one had to be a registered student of The University of Alberta. The researcher would notify the subject when the thesis was completed. In answering the questions about how the study would be used, the researcher described the need for the study (Ch. 1., p. 3) and indicated that it would be useful to psychologists, nurses and physicians working with men and women who are beginning their families.

The subject was then asked to read and sign the research consent form (see Appendix 4) which outlined the expectations and limits to his involvement in the research project. The subject was given a few minutes to read and complete the General Information Form (see Appendix 5). This form included categories for demographic data of himself and his wife including age, number of years married, highest education completed, last year's income, due date of baby's birth, type of living accommodation, length of time in current living accommodation and plans to move if any.

This ended the first interview.

The second interview. This usually occurred one week following the first interview. The purpose of this interview was for the subject to talk about thoughts and feelings he had had since his wife confirmed her pregnancy. He was encouraged to talk about thoughts and feelings that were related in any way to his wife having become pregnant. This was the only defined structure of the interview. The researcher had a list of themes (see Appendix 6) which could be used to guide discussion if the subject requested assistance. The interview formally began when the tape recorder was turned on. The researcher reminded the subject that the interview was planned to take only twenty to thirty minutes of his time. The first two interviews lasted for about ninety minutes and then were terminated by the researcher. In both instances, the subject felt that he could talk longer. In the following interviews, the subjects were informed that the interviews tend to last longer than thirty minutes and asked how long they wished to stay. All had planned on allowing an hour of their time. In each case the interviewer noted the time at the end of an hour. Two subjects agreed with the researcher that this was a suitable time to terminate the interview. One subject continued for another twenty minutes to finish talking about the topics that he wished to discuss. One subject finished the interview in thirty minutes. The other two, at the suggestion of the researcher, terminated the interview.

In most interviews the subjects initiated themes and moved from one to another spontaneously. Occasionally, the subject asked the researcher if there was anything that she would like to know. When a theme suggested at this time by the researcher was relevant to the subject, he talked about it in a manner similar to those he initiated himself. The one exception to this pattern was with a subject for whom the researcher initiated all topics. This subject would request a topic, speak directly to the topic suggested, then request another topic. This subject expected his babies (twins) to be born in three months from the time of the interview. He felt a sense of urgency about being prepared. He originally anticipated one baby, but was informed that there were two, and that they were to be born one month sooner than expected. It seemed that requesting all topics from the researcher and giving relatively brief answers were expressions of this urgency rather than of anxiety about the interview.

Some themes initiated during the interviews by the researcher had not been thought about yet or seemed too uncomfortable to talk about. When this occurred the topic was dropped. If the subject began responding to the suggested topic, but quickly moved to another topic, no attempt was made to return to the topic suggested by the researcher.

The two subjects obtained from physicians wanted more interview time with the researcher. This was offered for both. One had understood that there would be more than one major data gathering interview and was very interested to come back and talk again. Another interview was arranged for him for six weeks later. The other expressed interest in talking again at about the time his baby was due to be born. He suggested meeting a month prior to the expected due date in case the baby was born early. The researcher contacted this subject at the planned time. He was out of town, but his wife stated that he did want to speak with the researcher. He did not return the call. The day following the birth of his baby, he telephoned the researcher saying that he would like to get together. He sounded a little shaky, but did not establish a date for the appointment, nor did he call back again.

Analysis of Data

Following completion of the main interviews, these interviews were transcribed verbatim. Each man was assigned a fictitious name from this group of names: Al, Ben, Cam, Dave, Ed, and Frank. Where their wives' names were mentioned in quotations, fictitious names were assigned to them. All references to each individual were made using his/her assigned name.

The data from each interview were sorted into themes for each subject, which were identified in the interview for that subject. One subject, Ben, had two main interviews. Themes were identified for each interview. As there were six weeks between his two interviews there were both changes and similarities in his thoughts and feelings from one interview to the next. His two interviews were sorted for patterns of similarity and change between the two interviews. Commonalities and differences between and among the subjects were then identified for all subjects. The themes were topics discussed by the subjects. They included issues of concern to the men about this experience of becoming a father. From this, categories were developed around the central concept of beginning identity as a father. The categories and the central concept emerged from the data rather than the data being applied to previously identified categories or concepts. In this way the categories more closely represented the meaning of this experience for these men as it was occurring. Finally, conclusions were drawn about the experience of beginning to develop an identity as a father, during the first five and one half months of a man's wife's first pregnancy. These conclusions are propositions only, as this study, with six subjects, is intended to be an exploratory investigation.

The aim of using the grounded theory method of analysis of data is to identify, as closely as possible, the real experience of the individual in a particular situation. In a subject area such as the beginning responses of a man to the advent of fathering where there has been little formal investigation, grounded theory is particularly useful. The theory developed here is grounded in the data of this study, having emerged from the categories identified in the data. The categories (themes) were originally identified as entities in themselves. Integration became evident among categories, and a unifying process emerged which was the developing identity as a father with three major factors influencing this process. This substantive theory is valid for this group of subjects and can be further developed and changed with investigations of more subjects.

Questions Concerning The Authenticity Of The Information Obtained By The Interview Method

The validity of the interview methodology must be ascertained to answer the question of "is the interviewee telling the truth?" Factors which may inhibit open, truthful discussion are: (1) ulterior motives on the part of the interviewee for attending the interview; (2) bars to spontaneity in the interview; (3) desires to please the interviewer; (4) idiosyncratic factors that may cause expression of only one facet of the interviewee's reactions (Dean and Whyte, 1969, 107-108).

The only ulterior motive identified by the researcher in this instance was for two of the subjects to obtain assistance themselves from the researcher, through her listening to their concerns about becoming a father. This was changing everything in their lives that they worked for and enjoyed. This motive did not hinder the process of openness but increased their motivation. One of these men stated that since the researcher was from the health field and since he did not know her in any capacity other than this research project, "I can say whatever I like". For these two men, talking about their thoughts and feelings helped to understand and accept them. The other four subjects were concerned about the possible ulterior motive of the researcher. All seemed hesitantly pleased that a health professional was interested in their thoughts and feelings but all were concerned that the researcher might really be wanting to find out about their wives and not themselves. As one man said during the initial contact with them at the prenatal class, "do you really want to know about us or about what our wives are doing?" As he made this statement, all the men in the room looked directly at the researcher. Reiterating that women receive considerable support and understanding throughout pregnancy, but that the researcher wanted to know how men found this experience, all the men in the room visibly relaxed and all volunteered to be interviewed.

The researcher attempted to reduce bars to spontaneity in several ways. Two ways used in the first interview were ensuring confidentiality, and describing the boundaries of the study and the man's involvement in it. Two other ways were, holding both interviews in the same room and establishing rapport during the first interview, so that when coming for the second interview, the individual was not walking into a totally strange environment. Forms were filled out during the introductory interview so that a pen-and-paper function did not interfere with the spontaneity of the second interview. Privacy was ensured during the interviews.

There may have been some desire to please the researcher. As she is studying expectant fatherhood, it may be assumed that she believes this to be a desirable state. The researcher believes that whatever responses the individual has, they are to be considered with respect as they represent the experience of that individual. The researcher attempted to convey this attitude in her interactions with the subjects, throughout her contacts with them.

One idiosyncratic factor for this research project that may have influenced the responses of the subjects is that the subjects are by necessity all male and the researcher is female. This may have inhibited discussion on matters such as sexuality, as some did seem nervous when mentioning sexual relations with their wife. It may have encouraged discussion of some topics which are not normally discussed with male friends, such as interactions with their wife and their family members. The fact that the researcher had a nursing background and that they did not know her in any other capacity assisted in spontaneity for at least two individuals, thus countering the possible effects of sex difference. Two other men mentioned that since this study will be helpful to other men going through this experience later, they wanted to make sure to talk about everything that they have thought or felt. The interviews were rich in information. These men were highly motivated to come for these interviews. They all (except for the one expecting twins) would have talked longer than an hour without the researcher's intervention. Two requested a second interview. One had been preparing for the interview for the two weeks between his telephone confirmation of his interest and his first interview. He had been trying to remember all the thoughts that had occurred to him since he has known that his wife was pregnant. Another, during his interview, commented, "I'm trying to think, I'll probably be driving away and remember things I wanted to say". These are indications of high motivation.

For these reasons it can be claimed that this interview methodology has provided valid information about the experience of these men whose wives were pregnant for the first time in their marriage.

Chapter IV

FINDINGS

Summary of Demographic Data

Before presenting and analyzing the data from the main interview, the demographic data pertaining to the six men in the study will be given.

The men ranged in age from 25 to 32 years, the age of their wives ranging from 23 to 30 years. Most of the men and their wives had a Grade Twelve education. Both members of one couple had a university baccalaureate degree, and both members of another couple had a university degree at the master's level. All but one couple had been married for between two and four years. The sixth couple had been married for ten years. The two couples with university education had lived with one another for several years prior to marriage. All couples owned their own home, having lived there for between one and four years. All the homes were single family dewllings but one, which was a condonimium. The combined yearly income for the past year, for the husband and wife in each couple ranged from $35,000 to over $50,000. The range of the husbands' yearly income was from $20,000-$25,000 to $30,000 plus. The highest individual income category asked for was $30,000+, thus any income substantially over this amount was not recorded as such.

The men in the study do not represent all levels of education or income in the population and represent a fairly narrow age range. The group studied are Canadian, caucasion, have jobs and a home, and they and their wives are within a safe chronological age range for having children. This provides some security in bringing a child into their lives.

Emerging Themes

As these six men experienced the first months of their wives' first pregnancies, they found that new things interested them, even consumed their thoughts from time to time. Most had more contact with their families, and valued their contact with their fathers for themselves and with their mothers for their wives. They and their wives explored the meaning of parenting for themselves and each other. They thought differently about their work, as it took on a new and different meaning. Each found himself fascinated by infants and children as never before, and began to think of himself with a child, then with his own infant, finally wanting to know exactly what his infant would need and what he would be doing with that infant.

Several themes emerged regarding areas in which he was building his identity as a father, and specifically as a father of his particular infant. He identified with his own father, with his wife as a potential mother, with his expected baby as a person in his life, and with his work as the major bread-winner. His identity in all these areas was changing, based on the reality that he would soon be a father.

Identification With His Own Father

The relationship of each man with his father is a strong influence on his expectations for his own fathering experience. His father is his model from which he develops his own identity as a father. When his wife becomes pregnant for the first time, he begins to think of his father in a new way. He thinks about his feelings toward his father and his memories of his father during childhood. He applies these feelings and memories to his current experience of becoming a father, choosing which parts of his father's experience he wishes to maintain and which he wishes to discard. If his father is available to him, he begins to think about these feelings and memories in relation to his father as he now knows him. Being able to interact with his father helps him to discard those memories which are not accurate, and to validate those which are. Whether or not he visits regularly with his father now, he evaluates his current situation and experience of beginning fathering based on his feelings and memories of his own experience of being fathered. In this way, when applying his current experience to his feelings and memories, these have been revised. When he applies his own feelings about becoming a father to his own father, wondering how his father felt when his wife was first pregnant, he has current knowledge of his father, and the relationship his father had with his mother and with himself.

None of the six men described his childhood relationship with his father as close, but three, Dave, Ed, and Cam stated that their current relationship with their father was close. Dave spent considerable time as a child working with his father on their farm, while his sisters worked in the house with his mother. He viewed this relationship with his parents as traditional. He would be raising his children in an urban rather than the rural setting in which he was raised. This has caused him to reflect upon how his fathering of his children would need to be different from the fathering he received as a child. He felt that more is expected and needed from fathers now. He believed that the traditional system of husband being the sole provider and wife being full time mother and homemaker for the family was still the right way for families to function. Within this framework, however, he expected to share the care of the twins while he was at home especially since with twins there would be more care to be done than with one baby. He especially looked forward to playing with them, and was excited about their coming. Dave and his wife were close to both their families, visiting with them frequently and regularly. Becoming parents was like a graduation to the next stage of family life. Dave's conception of the meaning of fatherhood for himself was basically similar to that of his own father with modifications to adjust to his urban life situation.

Ed's father worked out of town when Ed was a child, so was away more than he was home. When he was home, Ed remembered not getting along very well with him. He wanted to be a better father to his children in some specific ways, than his father was to him. He current relationship with his father has helped him to see that his father has always had a great deal of love for him, but his father wasn't always able to show it. It was important for Ed that he and his child feel close to one another.

> Like with my Dad, I sometimes feel intimidated by him, I don't want that type of thing with my kid. I want him to come up to me and be able to talk to me real free, no inhibiting factors, like it's a one to one basis.

He waited to have children until his job no longer took him out of town, as he wanted to be more available to his children than his father was. He also wanted to be more involved with his wife in raising their children than his father could be. He thought about other factors that could inhibit his closeness with his children such as the need to discipline them and having to be at work each day while his wife was at home.

Cam stated that he and his father "...were never super close but now my Dad's about my best friend". He hinted at serious difficulties between himself and his father when he was a child. His father was a strong disciplinarian but never "beat" his children. Since getting to know his father better as an adult, he found that they enjoy one another now. Since Cam's wife became pregnant Cam has become more aware of his father as caring and capable.

> I'm listening more than I was before. Before it just bounces off, but now, hey, maybe what you say might mean something...

He watched his father with his other grandchildren and was proud of his father's influence with them. For Cam, becoming a father opened a new awareness for his own father and improved further, his relationship with him.

Cam and Ed had both gained some understanding of their fathers' behavior towards them as children. Cam was more accepting that his father's ideas were soundly based. Ed wanted to love his child as much as his father did, but wanted to show his love more clearly to build a closer relationship with his own child. Both Cam and Ed wanted to be more gentle with their children, but were worried, for different reasons, about their ability to consistently do so.

Having regular contact with one's father as an adult onself, and especially during the time when one is entering fatherhood, has been helpful to those men to whom this relationship was available. It has facilitated their understanding of their father when they were children. It assisted them in understanding some of the conflicts involved for the father in parenting his child, and helped them see the love that was always there. This adult relationship also provides a current support base for entering fatherhood. They now are peers with their fathers in that they are fathers as well. In becoming a father they have entered that stage of family life called "father", joining the other men who are fathers. Since becoming a father is such a major change, this joining with their father, who loves them and has been through this himself before, is a basic support. It facilitates their process of identifying how their childhood experience of being fathered can be utilized and modified to meet their current life situation and values.

For Al, Ben and Frank, gaining an increased understanding of their fathers and their relationships with their fathers was difficult as their fathers were not available for interaction. Frank's father lived far away and did not travel. Al's father died before Al and his wife planned to have a baby. Ben's family did not initiate frequent contact or support. Thus these three men mainly remembered relationships as they were in their childhood and adolescence.

Frank described himself as being similar to his father in some ways he did not feel good about. These were being too systematic and neat and having a "short temper". He was trying to change to be more like his wife whom he described as being very patient. In having his own baby, he felt very strongly, the connection with his family. He therefore felt somewhat left by his family in their not coming to celebrate his fatherhood and to support his wife and himself while she is having their baby. He especially wished his father would come. He felt that if he (Frank) lived near his parents and other family members that there would be a great deal of excitement and support generated by this event. However, given this as his reality, he began by noting the ways he is like his father, and turned to his wife and her family who are near to him, for support and to begin to construct his identity as a father.

Al felt that his father loved him and accepted having him around, but mainly as an observer. Similarly, his father was more of an observer than a participant in Al's activities. Al described him as "stern" and "...the anchor of the outer limits of what was acceptable". Economically, his father provided for his family very well. Both his parents placed the children's needs first, making sacrifices themselves to enable the children's needs to be met well. His father's major functions from Al's view as a child, were first, as economic provider, then as disciplinarian, and as background support person. Al saw his own overall responsibility for his expected child as economic provider. He had a relatively independent sales position, therefore his monthly income was not automatically stable. This increased his anxiety about being able to provide as well as his father did. Since his father was not alive it was difficult for Al to reassess his father's behavior with him as a child. He did not have the perspective of knowing him as an adult friend who loves him and had been through fathering of young children and specifically himself. But Al, as he did when he was a child, was finding his own ways of learning about and coping with the situation. He began with that which he did remember about his father's experience of fathering, applying this to himself. He turned to friends, who were also becoming fathers. He relied on his wife to do most of the day-to-day parenting while he worked long hours to provide.

Ben did not directly mention his father in either of the two interviews. He stated that "we will fit in very well with my family. In fact they were very (pause) they leave people alone..." Although Ben mentioned his mother's experience of being a mother and applied this to his anticipation of his wife's experience, he did not in the interviews apply his father's experience to himself. His marriage was purposefully non-traditional including his not wanting to have children. He hoped to father in a non-traditional way as well, but he felt really inexperienced and lacking in knowledge about what to do. It seemed that his experiences as a child with his own father had not been helpful to his identifying himself now as a parent. Ben spent a number of years away from home as a child and his father was not mentioned as a visitor central to his emotional self during those times. It would seem that his father was not very available to him, thus Ben has fewer memories on which to base the meaning of fathering. Since he did not mention the memories he did have, they are not likely to be warm, happy memories. Ben then, was essentially on his own, as he always had been, to learn about this new phase of his life. As he had successfully mastered other life changes on his own, by having faith in himself and by utilizing the resources around him, so he was building an identity for himself as a father.

For all six men, their father was their model on which they had begun to develop their own identity as a father. Although they did not describe their childhood relationships with their fathers as close, their father's availability to them as adults in a peer relationship was helpful in coming to understand their childhood relationship with their father. This facilitated the process of identity formation, as a father, which included building workable ways of fathering that incorporated their values and current life situation. Those whose fathers were less available or not available felt quite alone in their transition to fathering, but were resourceful in utilizing that which was available to them to assist in their identity formation.

Ed, Cam, and Dave validated their expectations for fathering through their interactions with their fathers. As they now felt close to their fathers, they felt their father's love for them and realized that it was always there. In thinking that their fathers, when expecting their first child experienced some of the feelings that they were now experiencing they reevaluated some of their childhood impressions of their fathers. They remembered experiences with their fathers, and in doing so, understood more of their fathers' meaning in behaving in a particular way toward them. In planning their own fathering with their children, they readjusted some of the ways they will be similar to or different from their own fathers as a result. Frank lived at home for a number of years as an adult and valued family life. Although he was now far from home, he felt that if he were at home, there would have been excitement and support for his becoming a father. Although he was disappointed that no one from his family will share his experience he did not hesitate to turn to his wife's family. His view of family included supporting one another. He was not able to carry out a reassessment process with his father but he is able to obtain support from an alternate source. He can obtain support both because it was available and because his view of family enabled him to receive it.

Al and Ben did not have available support from their fathers, and did not look to their own or their wives' families for alternate support. Al viewed both his and his wife's mothers as helpful to his wife, but felt alone in his part of parenting. Ben did not view his father as someone from whom to seek support. Therefore neither of these men were able either to reassess their childhood experiences or to obtain support from a "father" source. Their view of family and specifically of father, did not encourage them to utilize other family members or their wives' fathers as an alternate father support. Both were trying as energetically as the other men to understand and prepare for fatherhood but focussing on other resources.

Identification With His Work

Becoming a father changed the meaning of work for these men. The major transition was from being a working person, essentially responsible for himself, with an equally self-sufficient wife; to becoming the economic provider, at least temporarily, for himself, his wife, and his child. This created two basic changes for him. One, he must work at a level which would support three people, and two, his work would keep him away from his wife and child. The first placed the responsibility for maintaining a consistent standard of income production on him alone. At the same time he felt pulled toward home and the baby as he and his wife were beginning their family. For the first time he worried about having enough time for work.

Currently, the work life was of importance to the men studied in some similar and some different ways. Their wives each had different beliefs about incorporating paying jobs into their lives as mothers. For all couples, their joint incomes provided them with an economic base which they regarded as comfortable and secure. Both incomes were used for daily living, for making long-term purchases (e.g., house, cars, furniture and for leisure activities (e.g., holidays, eating out, and movies). The amount of either income was less significant than the total of both together. The worry about having sufficient income was the first or second concern for all six men. For all couples, the loss of the wife's income even temporarily, plus the additional costs of caring for a baby, placed an increased responsibility on the man for maintaining their financial stability. This was the one issue which all men addressed with their wives before they could seriously discuss any other issue related to having a baby. For the three men who had planned to have a baby, this issue was discussed long before the pregnancy occurred, and the financial planning of the couple revolved around establishing a stable financial base within which they could begin a family. When the pregnancy occurred, none felt really ready, although each, with his wife, had done all he could to prepare. The uncertainty of the unknown in a situation where he could not turn back resulted in a relatively high level of anxiety about income. The uncertainty came from aspects of the situation which could not be totally predicted. What would all the costs ~~be~~? With increasing costs of living, would his income keep up with the demands? All three anticipated decreased financial flexibility. This meant less money spent on leisure activities. Although they expected to miss this, they looked forward to having their time filled with family activity. The long-term purchases made prior to the pregnancy, in preparation, meant that long-term issues were not an immediate concern. These men, although anxious about whether they would be able to manage, were also challenged by the situation. They looked forward to the responsibility of providing for their family. Their baby was important to them. By maintaining the family's income they viewed themselves as carrying out an essential function in ensuring healthy family life. These men found conflict in the lack of time for all parts of their lives. They felt that it is important for the baby to have a strong relationship with his/her father. Dave and his wife expected the twin babies right at the busiest time of the year for him.

> Myself, I think it's just a matter of getting my head together and realizing that there is going to be a baby there and devoting time to the baby. It worry right now about having, you know, devoting time between say the garden and helping with the house cleaning. You know, this work and everything, and the kids as well, because I'd like to be able to spend a lot of time with them; but that's not always possible. Especially in the summer when it's; you need time for everybody.

However, for Dave, work was more meaningful, when he saw himself also as a providor for the family. In his view, his wife would be most supportive of him by staying at home once they have children and carrying out her complimentary functions of mothering and housekeeping. He therefore felt somewhat anxious about her desire to return to work. That would mean that she would be taking away some of his function, and he may then be required to take on some of her function. He did not feel this was appropriate for either of them. Therefore, although he was basically satisfied, he realized that this was an area which he and his wife needed to continue to discuss.

Ed did not question his responsibities as provider for the family, but feared that his work would interfere with his relationship with his infant.

> What's it going to be like with the baby when I'm at work and she's at home? Hopefully, the baby won't feel alienated towards me or you know, "I like Mom better than you" sort of thing. I just hope I can give the impression that we can give the same love and attention to the baby. You've got to spend, after you've spent so much time at work, there's nothing like playing with him for a couple of hours and bathing him, things like that. That shows you care.

He did not indicate how or whether he felt support from his wife in helping him with this issue.

Frank felt a conflict between pursuing advancement at work and being a meaningful member of the family at home.

> When you come home (from work) you have another eight hours to be there, ... in order to supply a man's influence or presence or something you can't be totally drained with a new or higher position. I'm not saying that I wouldn't take a higher position, but I would have to be able to come home and try not to be affected.

For the three men who had not planned for this pregnancy at this time, financial concerns were their first thoughts upon learning of the pregnancy. Neither their lives nor their financial situations were geared to incorporate a child. Having a baby meant that there was now no choice about how the money was to be spent. With their wife not working, they weren't sure that their own income would cover the costs. Al and Ben hoped that their wives would return to work. Both were beginning to see that this could not be assured. For both of them work represented fun, expression of their competence, and personal freedom. Al stated, "This isn't the same as it was when ... when it used to be fun. This is serious business". Work would now be done as a necessity, which would take away some of the inherent joy of adventure which it had meant for them. This loss for each of them was very great. These men had different goals from those of their wives, since family life with children was not part of their life goals at least for some time to come but was a central life goal for their wives. For Al and Ben this pregnancy meant totally giving up their desired financial goals. Al stated:

> I've got no regrets at this point, that's for sure, but it does require a lot of reflection on, on where you're going and what your goals are because all of a sudden your goals are no longer there.

Al and his wife had both been working full time only for the past year, his wife having completed a university degree in 1981. He was looking forward to a few years of two incomes. Al viewed their life up to their current point of economic security as an uphill struggle, and had hoped it would be easier for a while.

Work also meant companionship through mutual personal independence for both members of these couples. This was particularly important to Ben in his marriage, as he indicates:

> Right now we have a huge circle of friends and business occurrences in our daily lives. I'm doing one thing and she's doing another and in the evenings it's fun. We're sharing each other's experiences of the day, and our days are pretty irregular.

Having children thus was seen as limiting spontaneous involvement with work and other childless friends, and limiting work as a source of companionship with their wives. At the same time, it placed a burden on the need for their income from work, limiting other priorities.

Cam's wife had not originally planned to have children. Cam was not against having children and liked children. Work, for Cam, was interesting and important to him, and meant a steady income. However his personal life, and his hobbies were of equal importance in his priorities. In the transition to provider for the family, Cam was most concerned about the influence on his hobbies and friendship patterns, which included trips away from home. When Cam expressed concern for the couple managing on one income, his wife worked out a financial plan which at the time of the interview was already functioning. The plan included his wife continuing to work three days per week after the baby was born. Cam and his wife would be giving up some of the financial freedom, to which they were accustomed, but the plan was to enable Cam to continue his interests in a manner more mindful of the costs. He felt this plan was an improvement on the way he had been functioning and would incorporate the needs of a baby. He was satisfied with the change. The plan was made giving equal consideration to Cam, to his wife and to their expected baby. Some anxiety remained which would only be resolved by living with the baby, and feeling how all aspects of change were being worked out in practice.

The marriages of Al, Ben and Cam were characterized by an independent style of problem solving. Cam illustrated this emphasis:

> I've always gone more or less my own way and Eileen's gone her way, that's how it's been for the past ten years. So I go see my friends in Ontario, she says have fun, and flies to see her friends in Calgary, I'll see you Monday.

Eileen, his wife, did not enjoy accompanying Cam on his visits to Ontario, but did enjoy an opportunity to visit her friends in Calgary, thus the problem for both of visiting friends which their spouse didn't enjoy, and would have cost twice as much financially for both to accompany the other, was solved in an independent manner.

Al and Ben had lived with their wives for several years, then had been married, Al for three years, Ben for two years. It seemed that in these marriages, the independent problem-solving style had not developed sufficiently to ensure that the needs of both members of the couple would be met in proceeding toward a particular goal. When one member chose a goal which equally affected the other member, this became a problem, as with only one member planning to have children, or only one member planning to have their joint incomes work toward a more affluent lifestyle. This was in contrast to Cam's marriage of ten years where the independence was managed in a manner which considered both members of the couple, and their baby.

It would seem that more years of marriage facilitate use of this independent style of problem-solving in a manner which equally considers all members of the family. In the marriages of Dave, Ed and Frank, there was insufficient evidence to determine a characteristic style of problem-solving. Since they had agreement on whether to have children, this as a goal was not questioned by either member of the couple. This meant that in their short-term economic goals they were also more in tune with one another. It was not clear whether they had always agreed on these priorities or whether this was a product of joint problem-solving over time before acting on an issue (e.g., having children).

The men who had not planned to have children were in the position of doing much of the planning and adjustment for providing for the baby during the early months of the pregnancy that the men who had planned to have children had completed by this time. Rather than taking the final steps in their financial plan, their financial priorities had to be completely reorganized. They each felt an urgency to do this and to be prepared for the financial changes. Each addressed this task in his own way, and all had made progress. Progress was evident in each one modifying his own expectations for personal expenditures such as hobbies, eating out, and holidays. Cam and his wife had set her economic plan in motion. At the time of the interview they were already making more efficient use of their money. Ben took several holidays in quick succession, trying to do everything he would not be as free to do when the baby was born. He finally realized he just couldn't do it all, "...and we can simply do without it". The major influence which decreased his anxiety about the financial changes was obtaining evidence that the baby was a real, live person. He felt the baby move and heard its heartbeat. He began to feel excited about "this little person", and to feel responsible for it. He began to feel that he could not just be concerned about his and his wife's careers; his baby would have a "career" to be considered too, "which is to grow up". Al responded by concentrating on providing well for his child, as his father had done for him. He cancelled his priorities for activities or purchases that required large sums of money. He worked aggressively at his job. He did not feel tremendously satisfied with this, but he did not feel that he could take time to consider alternatives.

All six men felt the responsibility of becoming the sole provider, and work became a source of ambivalence for them, but for different reasons. The impact of the transition to being the family's provider was greatest for the two men who did not themselves want to have children as it would erode everything that their work meant to them. These men utilized work for purposes for which the other men looked to family, and personal interests. The necessity to maintain a stable income inhibited the fun and adventure of work. With the wife at home with the baby, she was no longer a companion in work. All of the men may have felt this, but it was expressed only by Al and Ben. For the three who had planned to have children and for Cam who had not planned for children, but was not against having children, work was already related to family priorities. Their ambivalence was in feeling pulled between work and home. They enjoyed the challenge to provide, but it came at a time when they wanted to be at home more to get to know the baby. They also wondered if they could manage on one income. They were somewhat anxious about whether their financial planning was adequate. All six men felt pressure from the finite nature of pregnancy. They could not turn back, even if they did not feel ready. Evidence of life in the baby was helpful in coming to terms with the ability to provide. Once the baby was recognized as a real living person in the man's life, he began to feel responsibility for the baby in a new way. What he would ideally like to have done (with or without children) became less important than using his current resources to make sure that the baby would get the best beginning that he could provide. The ambivalence was then placed in the background whether or not it has been resolved.

Identification With His Wife As A Mother

Each man held a view of his wife as the person in his life with whom he shared his life and with whom his future would evolve. He had not yet seen her as a mother with her own child. He knew that he would in a few months, and that she would from then on, always be a mother. Four of the men anticipated that parenting would improve their marriage relationship. Each was aware of changes taking place in his wife. Some of these changes influenced their relationship already, and others led him to reflect on the coming of parenthood for both himself and his wife. Each of the men had expectations for his wife as a mother which influenced his perception of her anticipated experience of motherhood. Through their actual experiences together throughout the pregnancy, the husband began to build a more accurate perception of his wife as a mother. Thus the changes in his wife during her transition to motherhood, his expectations of his wife as a mother, and their shared experiences throughout the pregnancy all contributed to each man's developing identity of his wife as a mother.

Transition to motherhood. Each man was aware of changes that were taking place in his wife. The changing shape was the first visual evidence to the man that he and his wife were together creating a child. Al and Ed each expressed pride in his wife's pregnant appearance. This was proof to the outside world that he was becoming a father. Al:

> ... walking around feeling very proud with my wife because she's three feet through, don't tell her that.

When Al's wife became discouraged about losing her shape, Al could not understand why she should be upset as he was proud of her appearance, and it was part of being pregnant, thus part of what she wanted.

Ben saw his wife's changing shape as visual evidence that his wife was becoming a mother, a change in her that he did not want, but was trying hard to accept. Ben:

> I'm becoming accepting of almost everything that's happened, ... Kristy's getting, her body shape is getting funny.

The change in body shape as the first visual evidence of pregnancy can represent the loss of young adulthood, the creation of a child, and the beginning of parenthood. It signals to the world that this is happening, thereby solidifying the reality in the minds of the men who are the expectant fathers. This generated either positive or negative feelings.

Other changes were taking place as well. Ed found his wife to be unpredictable in her moods, but noted that both he and his wife were excited and anxious, so neither of them had very much patience. Frank found that his wife was frequently tired, and not as interested in sex.

He had been told in the prenatal class to expect this, which helped him to feel "less dejected" about it. Ben found his wife to be very tired as well. This affected him mostly in the curtailment of evening social activities to which they were accustomed. For Ben, his wife had become a very different person. "... she's now governed totally by her body". She slept "... very, very long", knitted "ferociously" for the baby, and no longer wanted to socialize with friends who were single or divorced. He found himself sitting at home reading or watching television. As Ben's wife became more engrossed with her pregnancy, he was afraid of losing her as the companion with whom he shared similar experiences. He worried about her safety, which he had never done before. Al also was concerned about his wife's safety, but for him it was about her safety during labour and delivery. Both Al and Ben wanted to help their wives in areas of safety. Al was not sure how well he will cope with labour and delivery; he was glad his wife had an obstetrician who is well respected. Cam and his wife found themselves staying at home more, but Cam did not describe how the pregnancy was affecting his wife, nor his reactions to this. Cam's family did not discuss private matters with one another easily nor did they show affection openly. With this background he may not have felt comfortable discussing his wife's physical or emotional responses to pregnancy. At the time of his interview Dave thought mostly about being ready for the arrival of twins, he did not describe changes in his wife.

For those four men who discussed their wives' pregnancy changes each was experiencing some loss in his usual relationship with his wife. It was identified as loss of sexual relationship, loss of companionship, or worry about her safety. Whatever the loss, it permeated their relationship and the men had a sense that their relationship would never be the same again. This loss was expressed most by the two men who did not want to become fathers. All six men expressed awe at the knowledge their wives have about pregnancy, infants, and child care. This added to their confidence that their wives would cope with the transition to motherhood. For some, this made them feel somewhat estranged from their wives, as they realized how little they themselves knew, and thus how far apart they were from their wives in this respect. It gave them an appreciation of their wives as well as a sense of adequacy themselves. The men were actively trying to understand their wives' experiences of pregnancy. They utilized information from the prenatal class as Frank did with changes in his wife's sexuality. They sought out friends whose wives had recently been pregnant and listened fervently to their advice and their recounting of the experience. As a couple, when friends were also expecting a first child, sharing the experience provided support and validation of problems and of progress through the pregnancy.

All the men who discussed their wives' pregnancy changes had both positive and negative feelings in reaction to these changes. Some of the changes caused losses to their relationship, while others represented the new dimension of parenthood. This first point of pride in the latter is that he and his wife were successful in conceiving a child.

Expectations of his wife as a mother. Each of the six men had expectations of his wife as mother. Each man's view of the change as planned by his wife was influenced in two ways by the closeness of his relationship with his own mother when he was a child. The closer he had been with his own mother (a) the more natural mothering seemed for his wife and (b) the more likely he was to be accepting of his wife's ideas of mothering for herself. The second source of change was the effect that her mothering would have on their marriage relationship. The marriage relationship of the man's parents was a guide to his expectations for his own marriage relationship once children were born. The more the parents had valued child rearing as a part of the marriage, the more positively the men anticipated their marriages to be with children. The kind of marriage anticipated, when using their own parents as a guide, was not always an appropriate comparison as it did not consider his and his wife's personalities, capabilities, options available to them, and their current marriage style.

The relationship that a man had with his own mother influenced his expectations for his wife's anticipated experience of motherhood. The closer the relationship he had with his mother, the easier it was for him to accept his wife as a mother. Al, Frank, and Ed all described their mothers as the parent who provided a warm, close one-to-one relationship between herself and each of her children. Each of these men felt that his wife would be a good mother and would enjoy mothering. The wives of these men each wanted to become a mother, and each man felt that this desire was natural. Dave described his family as close. But when he was a child, the children were raised quite "traditionally" "the boys worked outside and the girls worked inside". His relationship as a child to his mother was not as close as experienced by some of the other men. Dave viewed the anticipated change to motherhood as part of his overall conception of his wife as a person. From the time of their marriage they had planned on having children, and he had anticipated his wife being at home to raise the children. Therefore, although he felt comfortable with his wife becoming a mother, he was surprised that her expectations for mothering differed somewhat from his expectations for her mothering.

Ben was the opposite of this. He had purposefully married "...a girl who had aspirations in some occupation, profession". His view of his wife did not include her as a mother. The initiation of the plan for children had come from her. Ben did not feel close to his mother. When he formed images about how his wife would be as a mother, his memories from his own mother did not provide him with warm and happy thoughts. He was frightened that his wife would enjoy the newness of mothering but would quickly become frustrated, and then be unable to leave the situation.

> I'm very concerned that she will stay at home and enjoy it for a very short period of time because it's a change. But after that I could see her becoming very frustrated.

His wife's family were close with one another and enjoyed family contacts. This fear for his wife did not come from her family's experience, but was mentioned when discussing his own mother's experience as a mother. Prior to becoming pregnant, Cam's wife had planned not to become a parent. This according to Cam, was due to difficult childhood experiences both she and Cam had with their parents. Cam did not question her hesitancy. In Cam's childhood experience, it was his father with whom he had difficulties. He stated that his wife would be a good mother, but he wasn't sure about himself as a father. His expectations for her were based more on his own experience than on hers. Cam did not comment on whether becoming a mother was a natural expectation for his wife. The effect that each man perceived child rearing to have on his parents' marriage was his guide for his expectations for his own marriage after the baby was born. When the parents' marriage seemed integrated with the raising of a family the men anticipated their marriage to be closer with a baby. This was so for Dave, Ed, and Frank. Parenting, both mothering and fathering, were seen as an integral part of marriage and adult life by Dave, Ed, and Frank. Frank could not imagine anyone not wanting to have children. He looked forward to family life. For Ben raising children seemed to interfere with his parents' marriage and with his mother's development of herself. Ben was frightened of the effect that parenting would have on his wife and on their marriage. Ben felt that mothering had not only destroyed his mother's life as an adult, but had made her a dependent on his father, thus decreasing the vitality of their marriage. He feared this change for his marriage. The comparison to the parent's marriage was not necessarily appropriate, as it did not consider the man's current situation, that is, his and his wife's options, or their personalities and capabilities. In Ben's situation, his wife came from a close family background where mothering was enjoyed and valued . With his wife's expertise and capabilities her options were probably greater than his mother's options were. Conversely, she may enjoy being at home, and their marriage may grow from a warm family experience. Dave's parents lived on a farm where a traditional marriage was appropriate. He and his wife lived in an urban setting, and the goals she had for herself as an adult may not have been possible on a farm, thus there was no need for his parents to consider incorporating them into their marriage and child rearing plans. Dave's and Ed's marriages with both currently much less traditional than were their parents' marriages before children were born.

Dave: My wife and I have a sort of arrangement at home. We both share the work.

Ben: We're quite conscious of not falling into the ruts that some people do. Kristy figures that she's been doing the laundry a little bit too often, I will find out about that. I enjoy vacuuming, so we switch.

It is evident that their expectations when based on their parents' marriage may not be appropriate. Their wives may be very different mothers than were their own mothers, and may be very different as a marital partners while mothering their child.

Shared experiences throughout the pregnancy. In recognizing that a man's anticipation, during early pregnancy, of his wife as a mother resembles the experience of his own mother, it is important to observe that since it is early in the pregnancy, he has no experience with his wife as a mother. It is logical for him in formulating his expectations, to look to his model for mothering, his own mother. Each couple had begun to discuss their expectations for themselves and one another. From this the feelings, beliefs and styles of parenting for both members of the couple would evolve further. As evidenced by Ben in his second interview and by Dave, as the reality of the baby's birth came closer, each parent became invested with beginning to parent along with the other. As the baby began to be recognized as a real person, parenting tasks started to become evident. Both parents responded to these and in doing so not only began to parent themselves, but to see the other parenting. Dave and his wife collected sufficient furniture and equipment for twins, Ben became involved with monitoring and maintaining his wife's nutrition, as a baby needed a good start. In responding to the baby and to one another they began to see how their spouse _is_ becoming a mother/father. Both husband and wife were a part of the process of becoming a parent (mother or father). Only as this process occurred replacing the unknown with experience did each man begin to leave his original expectations behind to embrace his and his wife's future as parents.

Identification With His Expected Baby

Each man gradually identified with his expected baby as a real person in his life. He thought about what he looked forward to and what he was hesitant about, in having his own baby. He was proud to have created a child with his wife. He looked forward to getting to know the baby and being a meaningful parent. Each prospective father had his own way of wanting to be a part of his baby's life. He thought of ways he wanted his child to develop throughout childhood. In a very general way, he thought about how he could facilitate this. As the months of the pregnancy went by, and especially when he had evidence of life in the baby, his baby became more and more, a real person, to whom he directed his thoughts and feelings. He began to parent his baby in that responses to his knowledge of his own baby rather than babies in general. Parenting included that which he did for the child such as preparing the baby's room. As he identified each aspect of what having a child meant, he realized the accompanying loss of personal freedom for himself. He worried about the normality of the baby. He worried about whether he could cope with the responsibility of raising a child and with the difficulties of having and living with a baby, such as childbirth itself, and the baby crying.

Loss of personal freedom. An integral part of identifying with the first expected baby, was loss of personal freedom. Freedom of time, of use of money, and of spontaneity in activities would all be decreased. All six men mentioned the anticipated loss of spontaneity in their lives. For some it had begun already, as their wives were tired and sleeping most evenings. They could not carry out an activity together without some planning ahead to make sure she had enough rest. Including a baby in the financial planning would mean giving up other priorities for the couple's finances. Even for those couples who had planned far ahead for the baby, a decrease was expected in their financial flexibility once the wife in the couple left her paying job to stay home with the baby. For those who had not planned for this baby far in advance, a great deal of real and anticipated freedom in use of money will be given up. For Cam, a number of plans were cancelled due to the baby coming. These included building a solarium, buying a car, and making structural changes to the house. Separate holidays for himself and his wife would no longer occur, as he could not imagine either of them leaving their family for a weekend to go off on his or her own. Cam's greatest concern was about whether he would be able to maintain his hobbies. He was building acceptance and comfort for his new situation by beginning to make some of the changes that would be necessary after the baby was born. Once he saw value in these changes in and of themselves as well as for the baby, he found some of the previous fears to be minimal or eliminated. For example, he used his equipment more efficiently. "I'm ahead now because rather than stock piling the place I've learned to use my stock, use my head more". He was beginning to discover activities which he formerly did not take time for, or did not notice. For example he discovered that television programs about infants were fascinating to him. He enjoyed his stereo more. He enjoyed things that he had "...made an effort to acquire". Dave commented on missing the spontaneity as well:

> I think it's going to be a shock to my lifestyle to start with at first but ah...like for one thing we're used to packing up and going and we've been married for almost three years so we've got into the habit. You wanted to go somewhere, fifteen minutes you were gone. Now it's going to be a matter of planning things further in advance and not being able to stay as long, that whole thing.

In August (four months from the date of the interview), the twin babies would be one month old and Dave mentioned that incorporating their needs into his life to the standard he wanted would be difficult. August would be one of his busiest months at work and his garden at home would be ready for harvesting. Dave was not as concerned about the changes in the social aspect of his lifestyle, as he would be too busy at home to miss the activities. His greatest loss was loss of time for all his priorities:

> I think it's going to be a busy time. I don't think I'll miss anything too much because there won't be a slack time. If you have to sit home and do nothing I'm sure there'll always be something to do with the two of them.

Ed commented "...it will never be the same again". He wondered if he would still be able to play hockey. He hoped that he would not blame the baby when he was not able to do something that meant a lot to him, such as playing hockey. He was concerned about spontaneity, ability to just leave the house to play hockey, and about having enough time for this interest.

Although Frank expected that it would be difficult, he did not mind losing some of his personal freedom. He believed that life had been too easy to regulate in relation to both his time and his finances. His life had been centered around home already, so there would not be a lot of activities that he would miss. As regards the activities that he enjoyed away from home, he anticipated bringing the baby alone, and taking more time. For example, he said, "I think we'll keep doing what we have been doing, maybe a little less frequently, take the kids camping, just don't go as far".

The impact of the decrease in personal freedom due to changed financial priorities was greatest for Al and Ben as discussed previously in relation to their transition to becoming the major financial provider. Al had just begun to enjoy some increased personal freedom due to added financial resources with both he and his wife working full time; they had finally both completed their university education. Much of Ben's life revolved around personal freedom. Many of his and his wife's friends were single or divorced. He stated in his first interview:

> The things we enjoy with these people, the spontaneity of our mutual lifestyles, in some ways I would still envy their freedom.

For all six men, loss of personal freedom was already being felt. For some, goals had been changed, resulting in decreased freedom in use of money. For some, activities which require spontaneity, were already limited due to their wife's tiredness. They anticipated the decrease in personal freedom, in available time, in spontaneous activity, and in use of money to become more pronounced after the birth of the baby. All expected this to be difficult.

Recognition of the baby as a person. The men were at varying stages of recognition of their baby as a person in their lives. Ben in his first interview, and Al, and Cam had not yet visualized a real baby as theirs. Cam and Al each expressed some awe for the reality of the baby developing within his wife.

> Cam: It's about the biggest thing in the world... that's a little piece of you in there and that's...big!

> Al: It's funny you know, when your wife is first pregnant, and she's not showing, it's kind of like a little secret that nobody else knows unless you tell them.

They rarely used the term "baby" to refer to their expected baby. Cam and Al avoided referring directly to the baby, and Ben referred to the baby as the "thing". None of these three had thought very much yet about themselves interacting with their babies. But they found themselves fascinated with babies and their parents. They observed families on the street, in shopping centres, and families whom they knew. Al stated that he had not thought very much about being with a baby yet. He expected to be "...the normal, doting parent", but was concerned that too much would be expected to him. He felt that his wife realized that she would be doing most of the care for their baby, as he would be working hard to provide financially. He stated, "I don't feel totally comfortable in the role you know, I know that I can probably catch on. It's funny how you start subconsciously watching how people you know react with their child, what they say". He was referring especially to fathers with their children. Cam thought of himself playing with the baby on the floor. It was, at the same time both an uncomfortable thought, and yet an exciting one. Cam talked about other children much more than he talked about his own expected child. These discussions of other children seemed to constitute a method of working toward identifying as a parent with his own expected child. He referred to his impressions of what should have been done in a particular situation. These impressions were then related to his parenting of his expected child.

For example, he says:

> I don't like car seats. I've got to put a car seat in my car, my brand new velour interior is going to get dirty. That, at first bugged me. Well it bugs me to see little kids walking on car seats with ice cream and stuff and that's what I've always sworn, isn't safe. I don't like to see little kids standing up in the car. If I see a little two year old boy standing on the seat waiting for his Mom to take off from the traffic light, she stops, what happens, right through the windshield, finished. You know I can say there's things that you've never thought about before that you have to think about. Like safety in a car. My beautiful velour interior, windows, ... oh, I hate fingerprints on windows! Like if I ever take my kids, well not my kids, my nieces

> or nephews somewhere, especially in the winter
> they draw on the windows. Oh, they get pounced
> on! And they sit in my car like, like this
> (hands on lap). They don't stand on the seat,
> they don't reach for anything. They know this
> and they also know you don't play in a car. You
> know because I'm pretty touchy about my cars.
> I mean that's easy for me to say to them because
> I don't take them home with me. That's one thing
> I always, I really like kids, they're great stuff
> but they always go home with somebody else. And
> that's one thing that I've always said. Now
> I'll be taking one home and I can see my windows
> being all smeared and toys in the corner, maybe,
> hit them. If I let it happen and I'm pretty
> sure that I will...because to heck with it,
> it's (the child) mine you know. That's bad.
> I guess he'll be spoiled. Has to be, has to
> be spoiled because you only have them once.
> He'll be that spoiled. Like I say you've got
> spoiled and you've got spoiled to the point of
> being so spoiled that they're not even salvageable.
> And then you've got spoiled to the point that...
> just as long as they know the difference, you
> know, between being sweet and being spoiled.
> Because the only one that can teach them the
> difference between right and wrong and this
> kid of stuff is me. And that's the biggest
> job is molding them. You know just like taking
> a piece of clay, it's pretty corny maybe, but
> you take a piece of clay and you make what you
> want to make. There it is. Human piece of
> clay, do it. You can make him the best in the
> world, you can make him the worst in the world.
> And it's all right there. That's scarey. But
> then again if there is more than one they
> have more of a chance I think.

In this instance Cam discussed an aspect of his life which was important to him. He related this to children's normal behavior then to his current and past responses to this behavior. He then investigated how this would apply to his interactions with his own child in comparable situations. It was important to Cam that his car be clean, neat and undamaged. He expressed with emotion his concern about children putting fingerprints on the car windows and standing on the seats. He then began talking about his own expected child and decided he would probably allow fingerprints on the windows. In deciding this he stated, "I guess he'll be spoiled, Has to be, has to be spoiled because you only have them once". He then struggled with his ideas of what it means to "spoil" a child. He looked at positive and negative views of "spoiling" a child. Some spoiling he mused, is not only good, but necessary, while too much spoiling could make a child "...so spoiled they're not even salvageable". This brought him to his feelings of awe and fear about the enormous influence and responsibility that a parent has for the life of his own child. In this way, through his new awareness of other children and their families, he applied the situation to himself, slowly building his identification with his expected child and with his relationship as a father with his child. When speaking about other children he spoke with considerable sensitivity for children. It was evident that although his interest in children increased since his wife became pregnant, there was a base of interest already there toward both neighbourhood children and relatives' children. For example, he regularly fixed the neighbourhood children's bicycles, was aware of neighbourhood children who were poorly treated by their parents and was proud that nieces and nephews when visiting had toys and an area to play in within his house.

Cam at no time referred directly to himself as a father and only once as a parent. In the first half of the interview he repeatedly (on nine occasions) commented that he had difficulty picturing himself as a father. In stating this, he avoided using the term father. He would say "...I have a hard time picturing myself in that position" and "its hard for me to visualize...". Near the end of the interview he stated, "I think I can do it", referring to being a parent. It was through his thoughts of children's situations, and applying these to his interactions with his own expected child that he slowly built "father" into his view of himself, such that he could tentatively say, "I think I can do it". Friends and family had been helpful to Cam, too, especially those with children and a couple who were also expecting their first child. A new dimension had been opened in their relationshop with these people:

> My brother-in-law was over and he's got three kids. He opemed up a little bit more than he ever had and it was really good. Now we get together as a family and it's completely different 'cause there's something being brought into our family.

Both Cam and Al were more at ease discussing the childhood of their expected baby rather than its infancy. This was evident in Cam's discussion of children in cars where he expanded on the subject at some length, whereas when talking about infancy, he was finished in one or two sentences. Al did not envision himself with an infant, but discussed camping holidays with an older child, such as he and his family took when he was a child. His most immediate concern when thinking of the comoing baby was for his wife to get safely through labour and birth. Once this occurred he would be better able to focus on the baby as a person. Al's wife was three and one half months pregnant when he was interviewed for this study. This was earlier in the pregnancy than the interviews of the other men (except Ben's first interview). It is possible that the distant view he had of his baby was related to this.

It may have been too early in the pregnancy to view the baby as a person in his life, especially since he himself had not planned to have a baby. For both these reasons (early in pregnancy, and no existing long-term desire to have a baby), he and Ben (at his first interview) had had the least amount of time of any of the men interviewed to consider themselves as father of a baby.

Ed and Frank thought about both infancy and childhood of their infants. They freely referred to their expected infants as "baby". They had long term thoughts about the relationship their child would have with them. Both reflected on how they could ensure a close relationship with their child. Ed was concerned that he would not be as close to his child as his wife would be. He thought of how their dog was closer to his wife than to himself, and how his wife would be spending more time at home with the baby than he would be able to do. This brought his thoughts to his coming child's infancy. He planned ways to be involved with the baby, including caring for and playing with the baby. For Frank, his baby embodies the continuation of his family and the warmth of family life. His uncertainty was with imperfections in his family members and with himself which either he had inherited from his family or which indicated that he would not be raising this child in a manner similar to his family's traditions. Since Frank could not change some of his differences from his family, he was beginning to build his identity as a father based on his current reality with his wife and baby.

Both Ed and Frank had been thinking about becoming a father for some time before their wives became pregnant. Some of both the long-term and more immediate concerns about how they would interact with and raise their children had been thought about for some time. They were in the process of coming to terms with what they would realistically be able to do, of all the things that they would like to do.

Two of the men, Ben by the second interview, and Dave, thought of their coming baby(ies) in a more immediate and urgent sense. Unlike the others, both have had some evidence of the baby(ies) as real persons. Ben had heard his baby's heartbeat and had felt the baby move. Dave was advised that, since there were twins, the babies could be born one month early in three months time from the interview. This made their birth really quite close in terms of adjustment time. Neither could think very long about early or later childhood, without returning to discussing early infancy or pregnancy. Ben began to feel "attached to this thing", and concerned about the baby's needs. His focus was on the present, identifying with the reality of the baby as it was now. Ben's original uncertainty about whether or not he wanted to accept his baby had diminished with the excitement, fear, and joy of real evidence of the baby. He had begun to feel close to his baby and felt a sense of urgency in finding out what he needed to know to be a part of the situation. He had become involved in his wife's pregnancy, making sure that both she and the baby had adequate nutrition and trying to influence his wife to quit smoking. He regularly called the baby by a nickname, and he thought of the baby as a person with rights of his own. He found almost all his conversation with other men, revolved around living with babies and with his wife, first pregnant, then as a mother. When at the races with some friends, one of the friends "had just had his first kid". Ben and this friend talked only about this.

> I really wanted to find out about...did they really get up at two o'clock in the morning and all about breastfeeding and can't you ignore all that...shuffle off on old Mom. What do you do on Saturdays when Mom wants to go out and you're taking care of it for four hours or five, or...it was totally useful information.

He was actively thinking about his wife's pregnancy, childbirth, and after, when the baby would be home with himself and his wife. He sought out others who were knowledgeable about this and began to plan his life in concert with that of the baby. It was no longer a matter of whether or not to share his life with a baby, but that there are now three people whose lives are together, himself, his wife, and his baby.

Dave focussed on infancy, as the reality for him was that while he had been expecting one infant, in three months time he would have two infants born and living in his house. He and his wife were trying to prepare themselves and their home for two infants. They read about the characteristics of twins and problems in caring for twins. They, with assistance from their families, were gathering enough furnishings, clothing and equipment for two babies. Dave looked forward to the twins coming, he especially looked forward to playing with them. He had a sense of urgency about being prepared to manage all his commitments during the first month after the babies were born. Summer was the busiest time for him at work. The babies were due shortly before the garden would be ready for harvesting. These, together with needing to get up at night with the babies, had resulted in a very real concern for getting adequate sleep and rest. Dave was working on his concerns, together with his wife, by reading about twins, and planning how they would interact with them, and planning their clothing, cribs, and other belongings to best facilitate optimum development of both twins. They were not planning any extra activities for the summer as they felt there would be enough to fill all their available hours in attending to their infants, their garden, and Dave's job.

Preparing their home for the baby. The ways in which each couple prepared the home for their baby was an indication of their readiness to accept this baby as a person, permanently into their home. As the pregnancy progressed and as they felt more and more that the baby was a person whom they wanted to live with them, their preparation became more specific and geared to the baby's immediate needs. It was important for both members of the couple to feel ready to make changes before those changes to their home felt right.

Al and his wife (three and one half months into the pregnancy) were just beginning to think about how their house would be physically changed by having a baby there. They wondered whether a particular bedroom would be for the television set or for the baby's room. Someone donated a cradle which they were storing in the basement. Al saw this as evidence of a baby. He stated:

> The only visible change in our house, in our lifestyle is the fact that somebody donated us a cradle, so suddenly that's there and you can't avoid it, it's there. But other than that there's no real things you know, I don't have to toss my face to it. Gees, I'm shaking here I'd better tone up or whatever.

Cam did not indicate his and his wife's plans for providing a space in the house for the baby. It would seem that at that point in the pregnancy (four and one half months) he had worked through what he would be giving up and was trying to adjust to that before he could comfortably plan what to add for the baby. At Ben's first interview (third month of the pregnancy), he and his wife had planned to sell their condominium as they did not feel it was suitable for a baby. That was very hard for Ben as he really felt that it was home. He did not like to think of more specific plans. The pregnancies of these three couples were not planned by the men, so all the adjustment and planning had to be done after the recognition of the pregnancy. This is in contrast to Ed whose wife was four and one half months pregnant, similar to Cam's wife, but the pregnancy had been planned for several years. At the time of the interview, Ed was using his holidays to "fix up our house the way we want it. We're knocking down walls, putting up walls, putting in windows. Now we've got to get the baby room all fixed up...". Ed was actively preparing his home for the arrival of the baby. Dave was further along yet with preparation of their home. He was no longer thinking of the suitability of their home, but was concerned that they had enough equipment to care for two babies, such as cribs, and high chairs. By Ben's second interview (five and one half months into the pregnancy), his condominium had not sold. The experience of hearing the baby's heartbeat had had such an impact on him, that he wanted to get a room ready for this "little person". Since he did not have to move from the house he enjoyed, this process was made more acceptable. Therefore, Dave and Ben whose wives were farthest along in their pregnancies, were themselves farthest along in their readiness for the baby to enter their homes, though both began the experience of their wives' first pregnancy at very different levels of acceptance. Dave clearly had wanted the pregnancy, Ben had not. Evidence of the baby as a living person moved other issues into the background as each man began responding to his baby.

Fear of risks for the normality of the baby. Whether the baby would be born healthy and normal was something that the men could not know for certain until the baby was born. Having an abnormal baby changes the meaning of parenting. The process of getting to know and love your child, from infancy, is facilitated by the child's resemblance to your and your spouse's family and to yourselves. It involves images of the baby growing up to be a capable, functioning child then adult, a member of your family of whom you as a parent can be proud. With an abnormal child it is difficult to see the baby as a part of you and of your family. It means accepting a more extensive and permanent dependency of the child on you, rather than the steady growth of independence and capability. An additional factor felt by the men was that they perceived that as fathers they would be expected to be the strong person in the couple if an abnormality in the baby was discovered. However, they expected to feel as much hurt and fear as their wives and wondered if they could be strong at such a time. All but Al expressed fear of having an abnormal baby. This was the greatest or second greatest concern of all who mentioned it. Discussion of this fear recurred several times in each interview. Their anxiety over this would not be relieved until birth when they actually would see their baby; as telling them about the low probability for the baby to be abnormal, based on their wives' good health and the family history of both their and their wives' families did not significantly reduce their concern.

Ability to cope with characteristics of infant behavior. Characteristics that were mentioned as difficult to cope with were crying, waking up at night, frequent wet diapers, sicknesses, and general untidiness. Dave was especially concerned about twins waking up at night, "I think the sleep is what's going to kill me. I enjoy my sleep and they claim that with two you almost both have to get up, so I'm going to miss that". Ed said:

> Sicknesses, my niece was over the other day with a fever and it seemed like the whole house was going crazy because she's six months old and a fever of 102, and they're just going crazy. So the whole place was in an uproar, you know, can you put up with the sleepless nights?

Frank saw himself as a very neat and organized person. He realized that babies are neither neat nor organized, and hoped that he would be able to change, become more relaxed in his standards. He claimed to have a "short temper" which he felt would not be helpful in trying to adjust to living with an unpredictable sort of person such as a new baby. He hoped that when his wife had quit working and was home with the baby, he could accept that house cleaning standards for the first while could not be very high. He wanted to be more like his wife, "She's very patient and open but I think that she has more control and is a much more pleasant person".

All six men were concerned with their ability to cope with a crying baby. Cam was fearful of his own reactions, "It's a fear I've got that I'm going to get carried away, and you know, I couldn't stand the baby crying and took a coathanger to him and stuff". Al stated: "When they cry well, ah, I'm going to go right out of my tree until I get used to it". Ed's friends told him that after the first three months, as the baby grows and changes so much, the pleasure counteracts the crying and wet diapers. Ed stated:

> ...friends of mind who had a baby, they say, like the first two, three months are really crazy cause they're just sleeping all the time, continually wetting, crying, and everything else. But you know after that he says they get to three months to a year, everyday they're changing, they're doing something different. He says it's so neat to watch.

All recognized how difficult crying would be to tolerate. This was based on their experiences with other peoples' babies. As they did not yet have experience with the crying of a baby whom they loved and felt responsible for, crying stood out as the most noticeable characteristic of babies. The friend of Ed's provided an indication of the influence of getting to know and love your baby on your perception of that baby's crying, and other "negative" characteristics.

Characteristics like crying worried these men in relation to their ability to cope. Since living with the baby was a complete unknown to them as yet, they did not know how much these characteristics would try their patience. They know that a baby's behavior could not be changed in the early months, so the adjustment would be all on their side, as an adult in the situation. Ed's friend's advice about the influence of enjoyment of the baby had not occurred to most of these men yet, but as they live with their own baby, they may identify this themselves.

Unfolding Process

Within each of the four themes of identification to fatherhood, it became evident that there was a process of increasing identity as a father throughout the first five and one half months of the pregnancy, and that at least for some of the men, this process began well before the occurrence of the pregnancy. There are three factors which influenced the men throughout this experience. These factors had both positive and negative influences, yet worked to move each man ever closer to his own identity of himself as a father.

Major Influencing Factors

The first five and one half months of a man's wife's first pregnancy was a time of enormous change for him. These six men had entered upon a venture with great risks and unknowns and with permanent consequences, that of becoming a father to a baby whom he would not see for another several months. First, he began with some expectations from that which he knew, his own parents. His experience with them both as a child and as an adult influenced his decision to have children and his beginning expectations for himself and his wife as parents. Second, he sought activities to help him understand his experience and prepare himself for current and anticipated changes. Third, the months of the pregnancy and particular events within the pregnancy triggered thoughts and feelings which gradually brought him closer to his baby as a person.

His Relationship, With His Own Parents

Each man entered the experience of his wife's first pregnancy with expectations based on his experience with his own parents. The most influential effect of this was whether his life goals included becoming a parent. His desire to become a parent was demonstrated in planning to have a baby. For those who did not include parenthood in their life goals, the pregnancy was planned by their wives. This was so for Ben and Al. Cam's wife's pregnancy was unplanned by either Cam or his wife. Cam's wife had previously decided not to become a parent based on her impressions of both her own and Cam's childhood experiences with their parents. Those who, together with their wives, wanted to become parents, had planned for this event several years in advance of the pregnancy. This was so for Dave, Ed, and Frank. For them, parenting was an integral part of marriage and adult life. Although they were not close to their fathers as children, family life was important to their families. When the pregnancy had been planned with both members of the couple viewing this as an important life goal, they were more prepared for the changes that occurred during the early months of the pregnancy. They had done some of the financial and emotional preparations prior to the pregnancy. When the pregnancy occurred they continued to work on these plans, and spoke freely and with warmth about what they wanted to do with the baby. In those situations where the husband and wife had not been in agreement about whether to have children or had planned not to have children, the actual planning time was relatively short, beginning for the men with confirmation of the pregnancy.

Thus, planning, based on the desire of both members of the couple to have a child, was related to their experiences with their own parents currently and as a child. Ben believed that mothering was a negative force in his family both for his mother as a person and for his parent's marriage, therefore he did not want his wife to become a mother and he had rejected family life with children as a life goal for himself. Ben's wife had a very different experience as a child. Her family, who did not live nearby, had always enjoyed family life. The members of her family who live in the same city where her parents live and where she grew up, visit one another regularly. Ben described this as "they're just on top of each other constantly". Children were an important life goal for Ben's wife.

None of the men had close relationships with their fathers as children, but Ed and Dave as adults, saw their parents regularly and valued their friendships with their fathers. Frank lived at home for several years as a young adult and valued family life. Ed, Dave and Frank all wanted to become fathers. Although it was a frightening prospect, with all its risks and unknowns, they looked forward to having children in their lives. Frank and Dave wanted to create a new generation of their families. Al and Ben and Cam remembered mostly the conflict in their homes as children. Al spoke of the sternness of his father, and the conflicts between himself and his brother. Ben did not mention his father and mentioned how parenting had been hard on his mother. Cam spoke of difficulties with his father. Cam and his wife did not see her parents regularly, but had become friends with his parents. Since his wife had become pregnant he had begun to see his father's experience of fathering in a new light. Ed had a similar experience with his father. Thus a revision of Cam's and Ed's view of their fathers was facilitated by regular adult contact with their fathers. Thus planning itself was not the crucial factor, but the current and past relationship both members of the couple had with their parents was crucial to planning for and revision of the inclusion of children in the life goals of each member of the couple. Once acceptance of parenthood had taken place, identification with the baby could begin, as it was then less frightening or strange to think of one's self with a baby.

When the expectant parents enjoyed their relationship with the older generation of parents, they could allow themselves to accept support from those parents. For those men whose fathers or family were not available to them this required trust in family warmth and support. Neither Ben's nor Frank's families were available to them. Ben did not accept support from his wife's family and he rejected their close interactions with one another, whereas Frank welcomed support from his wife's family. The support, when accepted, facilitated accepting one's self as the father of a baby (see Identification With His Own Father).

A meaningful relationship including regular contact between father and son during the first pregnancy of the son's wife facilitated the son's reassessment of their relationship, allowing him to explore fathering through a growing awareness of his own father. He found a new dimension in their relationship as they became peers in a new way, both would now be fathers, and could share the joys and anxieties of this aspect of life.

Activities Each Man Undertook To Prepare Himself For Fatherhood

Each man, once his wife's pregnancy was confirmed, worked actively to prepare himself for the reality that he would become a father. Each entered the experience of fathering a child at varying levels of readiness, yet all felt very vulnerable in the situation. There was so much which was new to them. There were such risks, financially and to human life. Once the pregnancy was confirmed their lives were permanently changed. Al and Frank mentioned particularly, the risks during labour and delivery. Frank stated, "I've thought about if the child died. I've even thought about if Ellen (his wife) died, then I could see myself getting really upset, well...let's say frantic. That would be my breaking point". Regardless of the level of readiness of their particular fears, all six men were energetic in seeking out resources to help them understand and prepare themselves for the pregnancy, childbirth and living with a baby. In this way each began to identify with his baby and with himself as father of the baby. They discussed issues with their wives. Dave and his wife identified areas of disagreement in their expectations for one another in parenting their children. They began to discuss this; "We've had to sit down and say, well, this is my idea of it and this is my idea, and see how we fit together". The men read books about babies and infant care. For some, their wives read the books and kept them informed of the contents. Four men mentioned the value of friends going through the same experience. They got together as couples and shared their experiences as Al indicated:

> We have some close friends that are, she's two months ahead of Jean, or a month and a half, something like that, and I've known him for, you know, since I was six years old so we're going through this together. So you know we're both asking each other, isn't this great, yea, I think it's great. It's funny, you really don't know so you go and you start asking well you ask for reinforcement, you really do.

All the men had become aware of children wherever they went, and found themselves watching children's behavior and the parents' responses to it. They imagined what they would do in a similar situation, and began to identify some of their beliefs and values about child rearing of infants and children, and the children of friends and relatives. They found programs on television about pregnancy, childbirth and care of infants and children to be fascinating, where they once would have immediately turned to another channel on discovering such a program. Al and Ben stated that they became involved with this study as they felt that they wanted to talk to someone whom they did not know and who was interested in what was happening to them. They found the interviews helpful in understanding their experiences and in building their confidence in becoming a father. All but Al and Ben looked to family for support and to share their joy. Al and Ben were accustomed to managing on their own and continued to do so, using the resources they found helpful. They were successful in this in that they gained much information; they began to feel excited about the baby, and more confident in themselves in the situation. Ben became involved with planning for the baby and with his wife's pregnancy, monitoring her nutrition and smoking habits. Al anticipated that both his and his wife's mothers would be helpful to his wife in beginning to parent their child. This was the only way he sought family support. Although he was excited about having a baby, he was so concerned about being able to provide financially that he felt that he must concentrate on this. While doing so he wanted to be assured that his wife would have adequate support from family.

Each of the other four men explored his family's values and habits, whether or not they had been an important part of his life in the past few years. Each initiated contact with them. Their reaction to the news that he was going to become a father was very important to each man. The family facilitated his confidence when they initiated further contact and openly shared his experience. He visited family members more regularly and anticipated his parents' assistance with the baby when it was to be born. He enjoyed their company more, and looked forward to being an equal in a new way to his parents and to others in the family who have children.

Frank's family were French speaking and all lived in central Canada. It caused him some sadness and anger that probably none of his family would travel to see his baby. Frank's wife's family lived in Edmonton and were looking forward to the arrival of the baby. Frank had turned to his wife's family for support and to share his joy, pride, and anxieties as his own family were not actively assisting him in adapting to this experience which was no different from that in which he was raised. Cam found his relationships with his family to be more meaningful since his wife became pregnant. He found that having a baby had brought a new dimension to these relationships; he enjoyed the greater family focus, while beginning his own family.

Frank found some information from the prenatal class helpful in understanding his wife's tiredness and decreased interest in sex. None of the other five men mentioned any health professionals as helpful to themselves. Al was glad his wife had a good obstetrician as it provided some assurance for her safety during pregnancy and childbirth. He did not see health professionals as helpful to himself. Ben at his second interview wanted information from his wife's physician and/or nurses, but found that they did not automatically keep him informed of the baby's progress as they did for his wife. He was especially upset when she stated that he had heard the baby's heartbeat at an appointment with her physician. He felt that he should have been invited by the physician or nurses to that appointment, as it was as important for him as for her to hear their baby's heartbeat. He telephoned the physician and made another appointment for them both for the next day, and heard the heartbeat himself. This was a very important and exciting event for him, as it was like a communication with the baby. The baby was now a real person to him; and he had initiated the communication himself.

Every man found himself observing and inquiring about children with a driving interest that dominated his thoughts and activities. This was surprising to Al and Ben and to a lesser degree Cam. All but Ben interacted more regularly with family members, either their own or their wives', depending on who was available in a supportive manner, as it was in the context of their marriage that they were experiencing this transition. Both wives (more often) and husbands read books and discussed the contents. Several found health professionals to be helpful to their wives but generally unsupportive to themselves so either did not seek assistance from this resource or demanded information from physicians or nurses (as with Ben demanding to hear his baby's heartbeat). They sought friends and/or relatives who had children to learn about what to expect and how they might handle various situations with children. Several had friends who were expecting their first child near the same time. These couples were a valuable resources with whom to discuss experiences as they occurred, and to support one another in confidence building. When one kind of resource was not available to him, such as his family, or a friend in the same experience, he turned to another resource, such as this interview situation, friends who have had children, or his wife's family.

Through the activities each man undertook to understand and prepare himself for this experience of becoming a father, he filled in some of the gaps in his readiness by identifying those resources that suited his particular situation and he began to build his own identity as a father. Throughout the process there remained areas about which he felt very vulnerable, even with all the information and preparation that he could obtain. These areas included childbirth, coping with a new baby, and managing financially after the baby was born. The areas would remain as unknowns until the birth of the baby and carried considerable risk to himself, his wife, or his baby. The people he identified as helpful were important to his feeling adequately supported in this vulnerable time.

Progress In Months, Through The Pregnancy

The pregnancy itself was an impetus for increasing identification with the baby. There were three events during the first five and one half months of the pregnancy which triggered a new kind of adaptation. With the occurrence of each event the issues being considered previously were placed in the background as the new issues took priority in the thoughts and energies of the prospective father. These events were (1) confirmation of the pregnancy; (2) noticeable change in his wife's shape, and (3) evidence of life in the baby.

The confirmation of the pregnancy triggered thoughts about financial readiness for those who had planned and for those who had not. Those who had been planning this financially for up to several years, wondered if their plan was sufficient as it was too late now to revise the plan. Those who had not planned for this financially, felt overcome at first with the totality of the change to their immediate and long-term goals. They began, urgently, to revise their planning. Their first reactions were to grieve over lost goals. Then they began to plan how they would manage given the increased costs and the loss of their wives' incomes. Once this had been attended to, they (all six men) began to think about themselves with children, and to feel proud that they had fathered a child.

When pregnancy became evident in the noticeable changing shape of his wife, this was like an announcement to the world that he and his wife had created a child. He began to think of himself with children, first past infancy, imagining holidays and other activities. Then he thought of what he wanted to do with his baby, how he wanted to be involved with him/her, how to help his baby get to know him, how to help his child develop values. He began to prepare his home for the baby.

Evidence of life in the baby included hearing the baby's heartbeat, feeling the baby move, and realizing that there was a finite time left before the baby would be born. This led to the realization that this was a real person who was alive and well. They responded to this realization with both pleasure and urgency. Thoughts about being with children changed to thoughts about this child. The focus was on _this_ baby and his/her rights and needs. There was a sense or urgency to be prepared for the birth of _this_ baby, to have everything that this baby will need. Early in the pregnancy a cradle waiting in the basement seemed strange, but later, equipment was necessary so he and his wife could be ready for birth. Earlier thoughts, about babies and children in general, faded into the background as did ideas about what he wanted to be able to do, and each man began to respond to the situation based on the actual resources which he has, and/or can get.

Throughout the pregnancy, physical and emotional changes in his wife brought to the present, some of the changes anticipated to occur after the birth of the baby. For example, if she was tired and slept for long hours, their sexual activity and their social activity was limited. These were both changes which were anticipated to occur after the birth of the baby. This resulted in the men reflecting on the meaning of these limitations for themselves, which included some grieving for the lost freedom of time for social and sexual activity as well as attempts to understand and accept the changes. Thus the adjustment was begun prior to the birth of the baby.

Summary

For each of these six men, progress in identifying his baby as a person as well as identifying himself and his wife as parents was influenced in a number of ways. He began with the recognition that a baby, a creation of his and his wife's, exists as an entity, and that as a result, his life would change drastically. He anticipated less freedom of time, money, and spontaneous activity. Using his parents as models, he began with expectations for parenthood for himself and for his wife, as well as for their marriage. As the pregnancy progressed in months, he actively sought individuals and experiences to assist him in understanding and preparing for the rest of his wife's pregnancy, the birth of the baby, and fatherhood. His expectations for parenthood both for himself and for his wife developed and changed through his experiences along the way.

Chapter V

CONCLUSIONS

Each of the six men in this study had his own unique experience in becoming a father, yet for all of them it created great change in all parts of their lives. As the pregnancy progressed, their thoughts and feelings changed. From the men's statements about their current thoughts and feelings and about those they remembered from the beginning of the pregnancy, the change had a definable progression, irrespective of whether the pregnancy had been wanted. When he wanted the pregnancy, his thoughts and feelings toward identifying himself as a father and thus preparing himself for this began well before the pregnancy; for those who had not planned, the process began with the confirmation of the pregnancy. This study confirms findings by Obzrut (1976) and May (1982) that men show some ambivalence to fathering early in the pregnancy and that financial security and his responsibility for this is a major concern. It confirms May's findings that readiness for fatherhood is influenced by the man's life goals and his progress in achieving those goals. There is also confirmation of Obzrut's findings that men prepare extensively for fathering.

Major Influencing Factors

There are three factors which influence the progress of the man in identifying himself as a father and his expected infant as a person in his life. These are his relationships past and present with his own parents, the progess in months through the pregnancy, and the activities he undertakes to understand and prepare himself for fatherhood.

The relationships each man has (past and present) with his own parents are the models on which he bases his expectations for family life. He bases his life goals on his experiences as a child with both his parents, deciding whether he wants to include having and raising children in his goals in his life. Thus those who want children to be a part of their lives actively plan for them from the beginning of marriage. Those who did not want children resist such planning. When a man's wife becomes pregnant for the first time, his parents are the models both for those who plan this event and for those who do not. Each man's father is the model for his expectations of fathering for himself, and for his mother is his model for his expectations for his wife's experience of mothering. When he and his father have a meaningful relationship as adults and his father is available to him for regular contact during the pregnancy, this facilitates his process of building his own identify as a father. It assists his evaluation of past experiences with his father in relation to his father as he knows him now, and in relation to his own situation in becoming a father. His father provides validation for entering this experience, by his presence and his continuing love for him. As father and son share the joy and anxiety of the son becoming a father, they are peers in a new way. Both are fathers. This is supportive to the new father.

The progress in months through the pregnancy triggers realizations about the expected baby and therefore about his relationship with and responsibilities to that baby. Three particular marker events are the confirmation of the pregnancy, noticeable change in his wife's abdomen and evidence of life in his baby. These events precipitate changes in his thoughts and actions to correlate with the ever closer reality of parenthood. As well as the marker events, the gradual movement from month to month in the pregnancy brings them ever closer to fatherhood.

The activities the prospective father undertakes are the means by which he learns to understand and to prepare himself for pregnancy, childbirth, and living with his expected infant. He utilizes those resources that are available to him. If his father is not available to him, he relies on himself, his friends, his wife's family, and/or other informal resources to explore the meaning of fathering for himself. Men find material to develop their thoughts about the experience of becoming a father wherever they go; they observe many situations involving children, projecting themselves into these situations. They use these to think through their beliefs and plans. As a result of their rich explorations, it is doubtful that the presence of their own father is a necessary component to successful identify formation. Their own experience of being fathered is definitely where they begin their explorations of fathering and their father's presence is very helpful in updating memories from childhood, developing a more realistic view of fathering, and obtaining support. But if their father is not available, they utilize other resources to assist in building an identity as a father. Among the resources found valuable by the men studied, informal resources were the most valuable and the health professionals, while very helpful to their wives, were generally not perceived as helpful to themselves. Resources included friends who are also becoming fathers, or who have young children, his wife and her parents, and brothers and sisters who have children.

Phases In Preparation For Fatherhood

This study proposes four phases through which men proceed during the first five and one half months of their wives' first pregnancy. The phases indicate the focus of inquiry at particular points in the pregnancy and describe his growing identity as a father. The phases are discrete one from another and represent the experiences of all six men studied. The major factors that have been described, influence progress throughout all of the phases.

The phases in preparation for fatherhood emerged from the final level of analysis. They are grounded in the data and represent the final integration of relationships among the data.

The major focus for each phase is stated in the title for that phase.

Phase 1; Establishing a financial base. The couple establish the financial base they believe to be the minimum necessary into which to bring and raise a child. This base must provide adequately for both members of the couple and for their child. For the man, this phase is necessary before he can consider introducing a child into his life or his marriage. He recognizes that he will be the sole provider, at least temporarily. With the increased expenditures for the baby, and the loss of his wife's income, this is a major responsibility for maintenance of the family. When a solid financial base is provided which considers the additional requirements, his responsibilities appear manageable. He can then look forward to the possibility of bringing a child into his life and his marriage. Men who want and plan to become fathers begin this phase prior to the first pregnancy. Financial planning for months or years ahead is geared toward bringing a baby into their lives. When financial planning for parenthood has not been addressed prior to the pregnancy, it is urgently addressed before any other issues related to pregnancy or parenthood. Even for those men who have made long-term financial plans several months or years prior to the pregnancy, the reality that now there is no going back, creates anxiety about whether the plan is sufficient.

He realizes what he is giving up in terms of financial freedom of choice. He will have fewer options about how money will be spent as more of it will be required for day to day living. He may or may not grieve over the loss, depending on his life goals. If having children is a choice of his, he sees himself exercising his freedom of choice, whereas if the choice was not originally his, he experiences considerable sadness and anger.

Phase 2; Identifying beliefs about child rearing. This may also begin prior to the pregnancy, but is addressed more concretely during the first four months of the pregnancy. The couple identify their own and one another's beliefs about the kinds of experiences their child should have, how love should be expressed, and how to discipline. The man thinks through the development of his child from a dependent infant to a stable, functioning adult. He observes parents, especially fathers, with their babies and small children. He projects himself into the parent's situation walking along with that child, or handling a disciplinary problem. In this way he beings to think of himself with children and being the parent in the situation. The situations he observes provide him with jumping off points for thinking through issues in child rearing and developing his beliefs. In discussing these issues with his wife, he and his wife discover beliefs which they share and ones about which they disagree.

The couple considers the suitability of their home for incorporating a baby and raising a child. They may attempt to move to a more suitable home, or to make structural changes in their existing home. If they consider their existing home to be suitable, they choose a room to be the nursery.

Having equipment for infant care in his home may not seem appropriate yet, he cannot yet project himself into a situation including all the realities of day to day living with an infant. He is proud to be becoming a father and is filled with awe at the enormity of the event. "Really, it's about the biggest thing in the world to...look, that's you, that's a little piece of you in there and that's big!"

A fear accompanying this phase is of having an abnormal child. "...I'm trying to think of things and all I can think about are scarey things like birth defects". Having an abnormal baby changes the meaning of parenting. It is difficult to accept that a physically or mentally abnormal baby is a creation of himself or a member of his family. Many of the expectations that he is developing for parenting his child could not come about. All would be altered in some way.

Phase 3; Identifying his relationship with his expected baby. This occurs during the fourth and fifth month of his wife's pregnancy. The change in shape of his wife's abdomen becomes noticeable. This is like an announcement to the outside world that they have created a baby. He is proud of his wife's shape, irregardless of his feelings about fatherhood.

He begins to think more concretely about the baby. He focusses on his side of his relationship with the baby. He thinks about what he would like to do with the baby and about what he is hesitant to do. He wonders if he can cope with labour and delivery and with the stresses of living with a baby, such as the baby crying and waking up at night. He looks foward to playing with the baby. He wants to be a meaningful person to his baby.

He and his wife realize that they need to understand each other's differing beliefs about child rearing; they work toward resolving these differences. The greater responsibility for income for his work comes at a time when he wants to be available to his expected infant. Thus he begins to feel some ambivalence toward work.

Phase 4; Identifying the baby as a person in his life. This phase begins after the fifth month of the pregnancy with evidence of life in the baby. The most likely evidence is hearing the heartbeat and feeling the baby move. It may also be an indication from the physician that the baby will be born early. With a finite, foreseeable time to birth, the baby becomes a real entity, as it does by hearing its heart beating.

The man's images of himself with a baby begin to reflect a sense of his particular baby. He wants to ensure that his baby is well cared for and enters into a home that is suited for a baby. He begins to identify immediate needs of the baby during pregnancy and after birth. He becomes anxious to be ready for the baby's birth. Problems of a basic nature that have not yet been resolved are left or put in the background to enable the couple to deal with the immediate priority of being ready for the baby. Basic problems could include differences in beliefs about child rearing, or inability to move to a new home. For example, if their home was not considered suitable, but basic changes could not be made, they decide to manage with what they have. The room that will be the nursery is begun to be prepared. This room may be painted and equipment obtained for the baby's care. These activities may be initiated by either member of the couple, but they both contribute in some way to them.

In his discussions with other men, he wants to know what they do during labour and delivery and with a new baby. He is actively preparing himself for the realities of living with a new baby.

He begins to plan how he will integrate work and home priorities in a way that incorporates both. He worries that he will not have enough time for everything, but looks forward to the challenge. His desire for personal freedom is placed in the background, whether or not he has resolved his feelings of loss about giving it up. Most of his thoughts and energies are used to address the current reality, as there are many immediate priorities.

Beyond the fourth phase. As none of these men were interviewed after the sixth month of their wives' pregnancies, no assumptions can be made about the progress past that time. It does seem logical to assume that they continued to prepare themselves, gaining information from others, and making specific plans, thus gaining in confidence in their ability to parent and to work with their wives in beginning a family. They probably continued to feel frightened and anxious about their ability to cope with those events which they could not completely predict, such as the normality of their baby, their wive's safety during labour and delivery, and their economic management on one income.

Summary Of The Phases

The first phase may begin well before the pregnancy, but begins at the latest with the confirmation of the first pregnancy for each couple. The prospective father begins by establishing that financial base he and his wife consider to be adequate into which to bring a child. Once this had been done, he can be proud to father (have fathered) a child. In phase two, he identifies he beliefs about child rearing, he notices children and wonders what he would do with them. He is filled with awe at the baby he and his wife have created. He realized that there is a risk for the life and health of both his wife and the baby; that is very frightening. Phase three begins during the fourth to fifth month of the pregnancy. He thinks about what he would like to do with the baby. His thoughts are more concrete, identifying realities of babies' care. By phase four, during the sixth month he has had evidence of life in his baby. He identifies his baby as a real person in his life. Whether or not the major focus for a phase is fully considered and/or resolved by the end of that phase, that focus is placed in the background as he concentrates on the focus for the next phase.

The Relationship Between The Phases And The Influencing Factors

The phases describe the focus of the man's thoughts, feelings, and activities at any particular point in the first five and one half months of the first pregnancy of his wife. The influencing factors are those factors that influence his progress in resolving the issues that emerge for him in each phase. The factors address experiences, beliefs, and feelings that he brings to the beginning of the pregnancy as well as occurrences during the pregnancy. For example, he brings his childhood experiences with his parents, as well as having responses from his parents during the pregnancy about his anticicapted fatherhood.

Progress through the phases is made by identifying how his life will change, and beginning to take appropriate action. The changes include that which he will be giving up and that which he will be taking on. Throughout the phases he gradually gains a sense of what he has feelings about and/or does not know; he seeks information, primarily through informal means about what to expect and how others have handled various situations. Along with seeking information, he expresses feelings and concerns about the changes that the pregnancy and the baby will bring about. With information and expression of feelings comes the ability to accept the changes and make plans to incorproate them into his life. As a result his progress in identification of himself as a father is characterized by a dual feeling of gradually increasing confidence in his ability to handle the situation, yet a tremendous feeling of vulnerability to the risks for his wife, expected infant, and himself. Increased knowledge of what to expect, and support from those whom he identifies as understanding and sympathetic to his situation are helpful to his increasing confidence and living with his vulnerability.

Need For Further Research

This study, having two data gathering intervies with each of six men, is limited in scope. The small number of subjects results in uncertainty about which of the findings is common to the experience of men becoming fathers and which is a reflection of this group. For example, none of the men in this study described their childhood relationship with their own fathers as close. This study cannot distinguish differences for men who have always been close to their fathers, nor does it indicate how common it is for boys not to feel close to their fathers. Since only one main interview was used, the influence of progression in time through the pregnancy was hypothesized on a cross-sectional and retrospective basis identifying the differences between the experiences of the men whose wives were in different months of their pregnancies and their memories of the first months. The only exception to this was Ben, who came for a second interview and evidence of change was identified over the six weeks between the two interviews.

A longitudinal study, interviewing men at several intervals throughout their wives' first pregnancy and for several months after the birth of the baby is necessary to generate formal theory about the process of developing an identity as a father. Such a study would include a large sample to identify general commonalities. The information provided in this study and the findings of Obzrut (1976), Marquart (1976) and May (1982) could form the basis for content to be explored. As the interview format provided a rich source of information, it could be utilized as one data gathering method; a longitudinal study would benefit from utilizing participant observation as well. Relationships could be identified which life goals and preparatory styles have with identity as a father several months after birth, as demonstrated through a man's interactions with his wife and child.

Implications

Becoming a father is a major life transition. During the first pregnancy of his wife, a man feels very proud to be becoming a father, but also feels very vulnerable to the risks and unknowns that lie before him. He wants information about the changes in his wife and himself, about the developing baby, about labour and delivery, and about living with a new baby. He benefits from others sharing his joy and his uncertainty. Friends, relatives, and especially his parents are sought for support, encouragement, and as a source of knowledge. He projects himself into many of the situations involving infants and children which he sees around him. Parts of his growing identity as a father are manifestations of the fact that he is the man (rather than the woman) in the situation. For example, he will be responsible for maintenance of their income and is concerned about having enough energy to carry on at work and be an important part of life at home, as he wants to be meaningful to both. Other parts of identity as a parent are experienced by both the man and the woman. Both he and his wife feel exhilaration at hearing the baby's heartbeat as evidence that their baby is a real person, alive. Both husband and wife benefit from knowing the concerns of the other. Becoming a father brings him to a new stage of family life, it opens a new dimension for relationships with his family and with friends who are fathers or are becoming fathers, enabling sharing of joys, anxieties, and responsibilities of parenting.

Clinical implications. Health professionals are not seen as sources of knowledge and support, though they are seen as supportive for their wives. The men therefore do not pursue health professionals as a source of information or support for themselves. As they are very responsive to information and support, there is potential for nurses, physicians, and others involved in prenatal care and education to be meaningful and knowledgeable resources.

Theoretical implications. Adult life stages for men (Levinson, 1979; Gould, 1978) have focussed on a man's work as the major determinor of his development throughout adulthood. This study indicates that becoming a father is a major life change for men. A man's identity as a person who is a father is very different from his identity as a person who is not a father. His identity throughout adulthood may continue to be influenced by his experience of fatherhood. His work takes on a new meaning based on becoming a father. He has greater responsibity for maintaining the family income, yet feels ambivalent toward work as it keeps him from home, and from getting to know his infant. Many men include the desire to have and raise children as part of their life goals.

Parenting literature tends to equate mothering with parenting. There is a considerable body of knowledge about fathering which, to reflect parenting more completely, should be incorporated in an integrated fashion into parenting literature. This would give the message to readers that there are two vital parents in a family. The literature on the transition to parenting is especially oriented to mothers rather than to both parents. As there is as yet markedly less research on this transition for men than for women, there is a need for further research on this period of life for men. The findings that do exist should be incorporated into the general body of literature, rather than included as an afterthought at the end of a chapter, as is commonly the case. Valentine's discussion of a developmental process throughout pregnancy for both men and women is a good example of effective integration of information from both the maternal and the paternal literature (1982).

Methodological implications. The methodology of grounded theory was important as it allowed the research to identify the themes that were central to the findings in this study. The meanings within the experience of fatherhood for the men interviewed became evident as did the process by which they prepared for fatherhood. As they felt so vulnerable, with no formal training or support, the absence of structure in the inquiry process of the study enabled them to discuss that which they had identified as important to them. The more structured projects of Obzrut (1976) and Marquart (1982) provided some concurring information, but were limited by the original construct of these researchers. Their highly structured interview schedules left questions unexplored and unexplained about relationships between types of responses made by the men. May (1982) has used the Glaser and Strauss (1972) constant comparative analysis method, which, similar to grounded theory, begins with observation and/or interviews. May was able to identify factors which influenced men's readiness for fatherhood, and the process used by the men in coping with their readiness. For further research of the experience of becoming a father, beginning in an open ended manner continues to be required until more is understood about this important event in the lives of men.

The researcher's belief that the first four months of the first pregnancy of a man's wife is a time when he is sufficiently aware of the reality of becoming a father yet sufficiently far removed from the birth of the baby that he would be thinking in quite a wholistic sense about becoming a father was born out in the findings of this study. The two men who were interviewed at about five months were becoming more concerned with the specifics of being prepared for bringing a child into their homes, and no longer thinking about abstract issues related to fathering. Interviewing men early in the pregnancy was important to gaining a sense of what was involved in beginning to develop an identity as a father. This included the realizations of what would be given up, what would be taken on, and the beginning process toward those ends. The researcher's thought that past the fifth month of the pregnancy reflection on these issues would be put aside and the birth of the baby would become the paramount concern, was evident in the focus of the men interviewed, as indicated in the four phases.

In summary there are two major implications. (1) Becoming a father is a major life transition. This transition influences every part of a man's life, including his relationships with his wife, his work, and his family and friends. (2) The significance of becoming a father is not adequately understood either by those developing theory, or by health professionals providing prenatal education and care.

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Appendix 1

Figure A

Family Triad of Interpersonal Influence

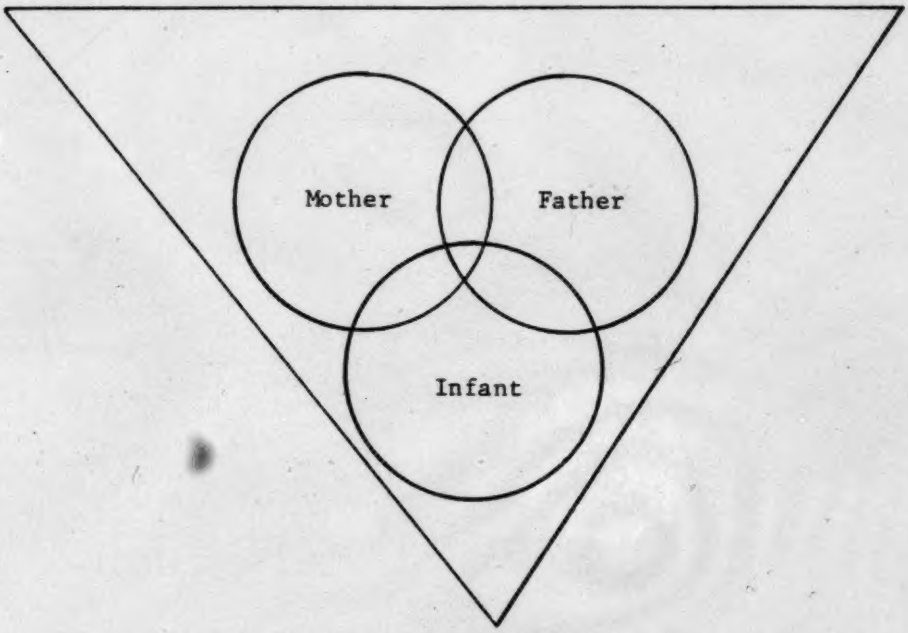


Figure B

Family Triad: Mother-Infant Model of Beginning Family Functioning

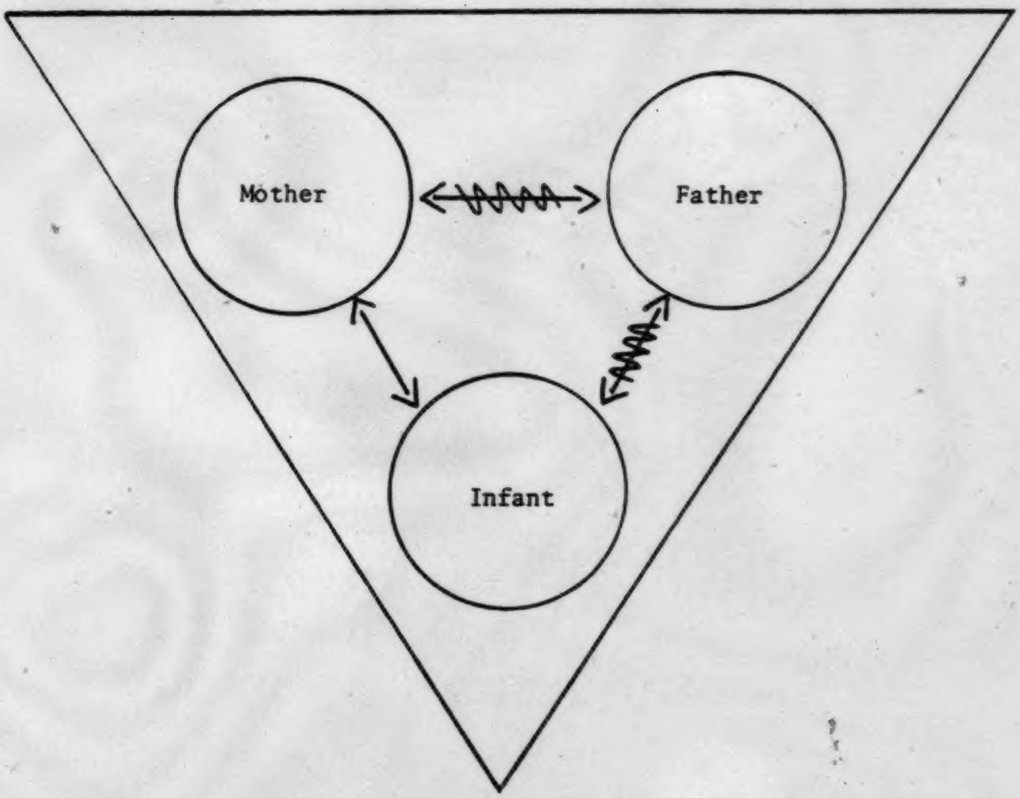
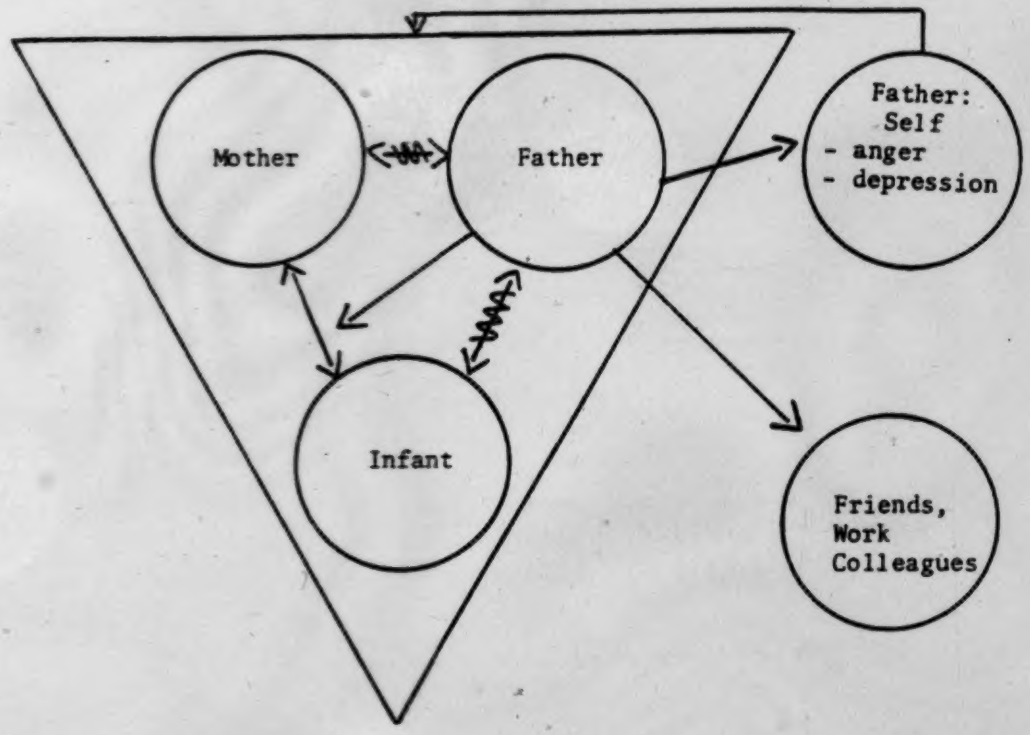


Figure C

Father's Responses to Mother-Infant

Model of Beginning Family Functioning



Appendix 2

Notice to Obstetricians, Introducing the Research Project

Janet E. Smith
Master's Thesis

Topic: The Thoughts and Feelings About Becoming a Father Which Men Experience During Their Wife's First Pregnancy

A case study method is being used. Four to six men will be interviewed who have the following characteristics:

1. He was born in Canada and has resided in Canada for the past twenty years.
2. His wife expects to delivery only one infant.
3. To your (the physician's) knowledge, the pregnancy is normal.
4. His wife is not past the fourth month of her pregnancy.

Each man chosen by the physician will receive the attached letter of introduction. Included in that letter is a brief description of the three interviews involved for each individual. The place at which the interviews will be held will be decided upon by discussion during the first telephone contact.

The second interview will be open-ended and not interviewer directed past the acknowledgement of the purpose of the interview. The purpose of the second interview is to attempt to determine initial thoughts and feelings about becoming a father, once that possibility has become a reality.

JES/pk
Enclosure

Appendix 3

Correspondence To Prospective Fathers Contacted Through Obstetricians

Faculty of Nursing
Room 3-118
Clinical Sciences Building

Dear Sir:

I understand that your wife is a patient of Dr.   and that you are soon to become a father. I am conducting a research project to learn about the thoughts and feelings about becoming a father that men may have before the birth of their first child.

This letter is intended to ask if you would be interested in becoming involved in this project. I would contact you a total of three times, the first, to get acquainted. The second time would involve an interview of 20-30 minutes to discuss your thoughts and feelings about becoming a father. The second interview will be tape recorded to enable accurate recording of information. The third contact is optional and will include both you and your wife. It is to provide any information to you and your wife that you may wish to have about pregnancy.

I will contact you within two weeks regarding your decision.

Thank you, your interest and assistance is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Janet E. Smith
Graduate Student
Educational Psychology
University of Alberta
Lecturer, Faculty of Nursing
University of Alberta

JES/pk

Appendix 4

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

This is to certify that I ______________________________________ agree to participate in a Master's thesis research project being conducted by Janet E. Smith, a registered nurse and a graduate student in Educational Psychology.

I consent to be interviewed and to have the interviews tape recorded. I understand that:

a) I am free to deny any answer to specific questions during interviews.

b) I will not have to talk about any subject I do not wish to discuss.

I understand that:

a) the interviews will be held in confidence and will be used only for the research purpose stated above.

b) My name and the names of any of my family members will not be disclosed at any time.

I understand that I am free to terminate any interview at any time and to withdraw from the project at any time with no consequence. I am free to ask questions at any time.

I further understand that I may not directly benefit from participating in this project.

____________________ (Signature)	____________________ (Investigator)
____________________ (Date)	____________________ (Date)

Appendix 5

GENERAL INFORMATION FORM

Age:

Yours: _____

Your wife's: _____

Number of years married: _____

Number of years living together (if different from above): _____

Occupation:

Yours: ______________________________

Your wife's: ______________________________

Education:

	Yours	Your Wife's
High School - highest grade completed		
University degree - degrees or parts thereof		
Other post-secondary training		

Total yearly income in 1981:

Income:	Yours	Your Wife's
less than 15,000		
15,000-20,000		
20,000-25,000		
25,000-30,000		
more than 30,000		

Date baby is due to be born: ____________________________________

Type of current living accommodation:

Apartment _____

Condominium/Townhouse _____

Single house _____

Length of time (in years) in current living accommodation: _____

Do you have plans to move within:

6 months _____

2 months _____

Do you rent or own your home? ____________________

Appendix 6

THEMES TO BE USED IN THE MAIN INTERVIEW ONLY IF REQUIRED

1. Have there been any changes in your daily habits as a result of your wife's pregnancy?

2. Has your relationship with your wife changed?

3. How do you anticipate your relationship with your wife changing?

4. Has your sexual relationship with your wife changed?

5. How do you anticipate your sexual relationship with your wife to change?

6. What do you remember about being with your own father as a child? This woulc include holidays, daily contact at home, special events.

7. How do you see yourself preparing for your child's arrival? This could include preparing your home, obtaining equipment for infant care, and infant clothing.

8. Do you anticipate changes in your work when your baby is born?

9. What changes in your daily habits do you anticipate during the next year?

10. Do you see either your own or your wife's family regularly? How would you describe these relationships?

11. Do you anticipate these relationships to change after the birth of the baby? In what way?

12. Is religion a part of either your or your wife's life at present? In what way?

13. How do you anticipate religion to be part of your child's life?

Appendix 7

A. Demographic Data: Age and Marital History

Age and Marital History	Al	Ben	Cam	Dave	Ed	Frank	
Age in years self wife	 28 29	 29 30	 32 29	 25 23	 27 24	 28 29	
Number of Years Married	3	2	10	3	4	3	
Total Number of Years Living Together	5	7	10	3	4	4	
Number of Months into the Pregnancy	3½	3-1st int. 5-2nd int.	4½	5	4½	4½	

B. Demographic Data: Educational and Socio-Economic Status

Educational and Socio-Economic Status	Al	Ben	Cam	Dave	Ed	Frank
Highest Education						
self	B.Sc.	M.B.A.	Gr. 12	Gr. 12	Gr. 12	Gr. 13+ some univ.
wife	B.Sc.N.	M.B.A.	Gr. 10	Gr. 12	Gr. 12	Gr. 12
Yearly income						
self	30,000+	30,000+	20,000-25,000	30,000+	30,000+	15,000-20,000
wife	20,000-25,000	20,000-25,000	15,000-20,000	15,000-20,000	20,000-25,000	15,000-20,000
Total	55,000+	55,000+	31,000-45,000	45,000+	50,000+	30,000-40,000
Type of home	single family dwelling	condominium	single family dwelling	single family dwelling	single family dwelling	single family dwelling
Number of years living in home	3	2½	4½	4	4	1
Own or rent home	own	own	own	own	own	own